DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 126 164 UD 016 018

AUTHOR Elazar, Daniel; Friedman, Murry
TITLE Moving Up: Ethnic Succession in America: With a Case History from the Philadelphia School System.
INSTITUTION American Jewish Committee, New York, N.Y. Inst. on Pluralism and Group Identity.
PUB DATE Jan 76
NOTE 73p.
AVAILABLE FROM Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity, 165 East 56th Street, New York 10022 ($1.95)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$3.50 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS Administrative Personnel; Black Community; Career Opportunities; *Case Studies; *Cultural Factors; Educational Administration; Educational Change; *Ethnic Groups; Ethnic Status; Guidelines; Historical Reviews; Instructional Staff; Minority Groups; Negro Achievement; Negro Employment; Negro Leadership; *Negro Role; *Occupational Mobility; Political Influences; Political Issues; Political Power; *School Systems; Social Action; Social Change; Social Mobility; Social Opportunities
IDENTIFIERS *Pennsylvania (Philadelphia)

ABSTRACT

To aid in understanding how the process of ethnic succession has worked in America, both a conceptual overview and an indepth analysis of a particular situation that occurred over the past four decades in the Philadelphia school system are presented. Resulting from this historical investigation are a series of highly useful guidelines. The first chapter examines the subtle and not so subtle ways in which ethnicity affects the lives of Americans, and addresses specific topics such as ethnic succession and the new pluralism, diversity, ethnicity and occupational choices, patterns of ethnic succession in America, the growth of ethnic power blocs, political changes, and other issues. The next chapter focuses on a case of ethnic succession: the entry and upward movement of blacks in teaching and administrative posts in the Philadelphia schools in the 60's and early 70's and their partial replacement of Jews and Italians with the assistance of white Protestant cosmopolitan leaders of the school system. This case study should be viewed against the backdrop of the social trends that are described throughout the document. Although it is not examined indepth, it is recognized that the ethnic composition of both the teaching staff and student body is of great significance in the educational process. (Author/AM)

Documents acquired by ERIC include many informal unpublished materials not available from other sources. ERIC makes every effort to obtain the best copy available. Nevertheless, items of marginal reproducibility are often encountered and this affects the quality of the microfiche and hardcopy reproductions ERIC makes available via the ERIC Document Reproduction Service (EDRS). EDRS is not responsible for the quality of the original document. Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made from the original.

ED126164

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

MOVING UP

ETHNIC SUCCESSION IN AMERICA

With a Case History from the Philadelphia School System

by DANIEL ELAZAR
and MURRAY FRIEDMAN
Introduction by Charles V. Hamilton

UD 016 018

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS COPYRIGHTED MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Inst. on Pluralism and Group Identity

TO ERIC AND ORGANIZATIONS OPERATING UNDER AGREEMENTS WITH THE NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION. FURTHER REPRODUCTION OUTSIDE THE ERIC SYSTEM REQUIRES PERMISSION OF THE COPYRIGHT OWNER.

Copyright © 1976
by the Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity
of the American Jewish Committee
All rights reserved
Printed in the United States of America

Acknowledgments

We owe special thanks to Sharon Frank and Barnaby Wittels for their invaluable research assistance and to Barbara Peters and Nancy Seifer for their excellent editing of the manuscript. In addition, we are grateful to Nat Schram for his cover design.

We also wish to express our appreciation to Del Harrod who kindly allowed us to use his illustrations. A graduate of Virginia Commonwealth University, Mr. Harrod is a graphic designer and illustrator for the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Washington, D.C.

Contents

About The Authors	iv
Foreword By Irving M. Levine	vi
Introduction By Charles V. Hamilton	ix
Ethnic Succession And The "New Pluralism"	1
The Philadelphia Schools Story	24
Major Findings	42
New Ground Rules For Ethnic Bargaining	53
Footnotes	57

About the Authors

DANIEL ELAZAR is a professor of political science at Temple University in Philadelphia and Director of Temple's Center for the Study of Federalism. He is also a faculty member and Head of the Institute on Local Government at Bar-Ilan University in Israel. He has written and edited numerous publications including *Cooperation and Conflict* (1969), *Cities of the Prairie* (1970) and *The Ecology of American Political Culture* (1975). His articles have appeared in many books, encyclopedias and scholarly journals. A recipient of several major fellowships, he is the editor of *Publius: The Journal of Federalism*.

MURRAY FRIEDMAN is the Pennsylvania-Delaware-Maryland Regional Director of the American Jewish Committee. He teaches courses on minority problems and urban sociology at La Salle College in Philadelphia. A well-known writer, he edited *Overcoming Middle Class Rage*, a collection of essays on Middle America and the "new pluralism" that was published in 1971. His essays have been published in *The Atlantic*, *Commentary* and *The New Republic*. In the summer of 1974, he lectured in Africa and India on intergroup relations in the United States at the invitation of the United States Information Agency.

Foreword

The course of ethnic succession resembles a stepladder. It is the process by which members of one ethnic group move up in a specific area to follow in the footsteps of another previously dominant ethnic group. As the newly entering groups step-up the rungs, the groups that proceeded them have often in the past improved their positions on the stepladder. Ethnic succession takes place most often in a geographical, economic, bureaucratic or political sphere. Whether this progression phenomenon will continue in the future as it has in the past is now seriously being questioned in a society that is preaching "limited growth."

A thorough knowledge of how ethnic succession has worked in America has eluded us for too long. While ethnic succession has received some attention in the social science literature, it remains little understood.

Constant realignments among groups for positions of economic and political power and influence in our society have taken place throughout America's 200 year history, with less violence and social disruption than in other countries. Some may rightfully argue, however, that the containment of disruption was not all that positive since it side-stepped dealing with justified grievances.

Our recent emphasis on problematic aspects of intergroup competition has prevented us from recognizing and learning from those instances when ethnic succession operates with relative success, when emerging groups benefit and established groups lose little from the process. Our knowledge of this process has also been severely limited by the fact that, all too often, views of ethnic succession are marred by a lack of adequate historical perspective.

To help us better understand how the process has worked in America, Daniel Elazar and Murray Friedman present us with both a conceptual overview and an in-depth analysis of a particular situation that occurred over the past four decades in the Philadelphia school system—one that is similar to others that took place all across the country and which illustrates some important principles. As a result of their historical investigation, they were able to deduce a series of highly useful guidelines.

The "rules of the game" that Elazar and Friedman lay out will serve as a useful guide to the informed reader and to those personally involved in the process. Without such principles to assist us in formulating a better approach to the art of "ethnic bargaining," we are handicapped in resolving the kind of conflict that is inevitable in a society where ethnic groups are constantly negotiating for their own betterment.

The American creed is deeply committed to the promise of providing opportunity and upward mobility to people of all ethnic backgrounds. Yet, the question of *how to extend justice to previously excluded groups while, at the same time, protecting the legitimate interests of other groups* is a dilemma.

A closer study of our history can teach us where and when successful ethnic bargaining took place. This may give us a greater understanding of what can be done in the present, where relationships between competing ethnic groups are not constructive. In this way we can look toward a future where the processes of pluralism, both on an informal and formal basis, will be brought to the consciousness of leaders and concerned citizens.

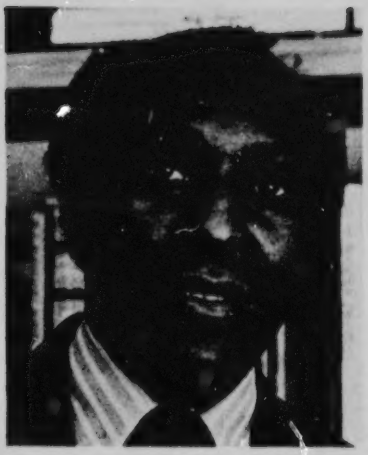
MOVING UP: ETHNIC SUCCESSION IN AMERICA is another in a series of works designed to clarify some of the most difficult issues relating to American ethnic relations, published

by the American Jewish Committee's Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity.

The Institute believes that group interests have a legitimate place in a pluralistic society and that we must protect those interests as well as individual rights. Precautions must also be taken to insure that competing group demands do not foster polarization, negativism or destructive group chauvinism.

It is our belief that the goals of promoting the common good and developing cooperation and coalition are best achieved by recognizing and capitalizing on diversity rather than denying or ignoring it.

IRVING M. LEVINE
Director
Institute on Pluralism and Group Identity



Introduction

For most of its history, the United States either took its pluralistic nature for granted or dealt with it largely in terms of the racial problem and black Americans. In focusing on the latter, the emphasis was largely legalistic, constitutionally oriented, and quite moralistic in tone. Civil rights advocates make their case by relying on the 14th Amendment and using the courts as the major arena to achieve certain goals of racial inclusion.

But one does not understand the full story of "ethnic succession in America" by focusing exclusively on the traditional civil rights approach. Thus, the work by Elazar and Friedman on the Philadelphia school situation is a most useful case study. It is part of a phenomenon to which scholars and concerned people are increasingly turning their attention. In the late 1960's, some black people began (again) to raise the issue of a broadened process . . . one that spoke to ways other than mere legalism by which to approach the question of inclusion.

When blacks began to raise the issue of racial (black) consciousness and began to suggest that blacks ought to under-

stand the political utility of race and ethnicity, they were, frequently, accused of being "separatists." They were accused of trying to "kick whites out of the civil rights movement." This was an unfortunate understanding of the Black Power movement but, probably, under the circumstances, unavoidable. The mood and ethos of the civil rights movement, with its emphasis on egalitarianism and structural integration, was strongly embedded in the black struggle in this country.

In fact, what some (including myself) were attempting to do by raising the issue of Black Power was to put the black American struggle in a context that recognized the fact and legitimacy of ethnicity and pluralism in this country. Some Americans (particularly liberals) have been so intent on homogenizing the society that any effort at honestly pointing up the diversities in the society was seen as divisive and polarizing.

Even now, one who raises the question of pluralism runs the risk of being accused of sanctioning, in some direct or indirect way, a social order of an earlier time. But it should be clear that discussing the historical utility of ethnicity is not tantamount to concluding that one cannot work for a free and open society. Maximizing choices, as well as integration, is, to me, a desirable societal goal. And this goal is far better served by an honest understanding of ethnicity in America (which the Elazar-Friedman piece serves) than a refusal to study and learn from that phenomenon.

CHARLES V. HAMILTON
President
Metropolitan Applied Research Center

Ethnic Succession and the "New Pluralism"

The past generation has witnessed tremendous ferment and change in group relations in this country. The Supreme Court's 1954 decision in Brown vs. Board of Education struck down segregation in public education and became the major catalyst of the civil rights revolution. By the late 60's and early 70's, America was in the midst of a race revolt that was challenging many of our earlier assumptions. Segments of black leadership, concerned that desegregation goals and strategies sought only to redress legal issues without attempting to create a broader understanding of the unique history and culture of the blacks, directed their efforts to developing a greater sense of group identity. "Black Power" became their rallying cry. More recently, some blacks have spearheaded a movement for racial proportional representation in all areas of American life.

At the same time, many urban lower middle and middle class whites from Catholic and Jewish backgrounds began to express their anger over the social and economic trends in our society. This resentment, which has been called "white backlash," was echoed by growing numbers of Americans from small town and rural backgrounds. These varied groups were pressing for greater recognition of their values and lifestyles.

The growing demands of these groups have resulted in not simply the white-black confrontations that are familiar to most Americans, but in a series of group collisions: between blacks and Jews over teaching positions in the New York schools; between Newark's black and Italian groups for political power; between Chicanos and blacks in Los Angeles over leadership in poverty programs; and among Protestants, Catholics and Jews over issues of abortion, pornography, and government aid to parochial schools. We are aware—painfully aware—that racial

1

and ethnic strains have been a source of friction and even violence in our communities.

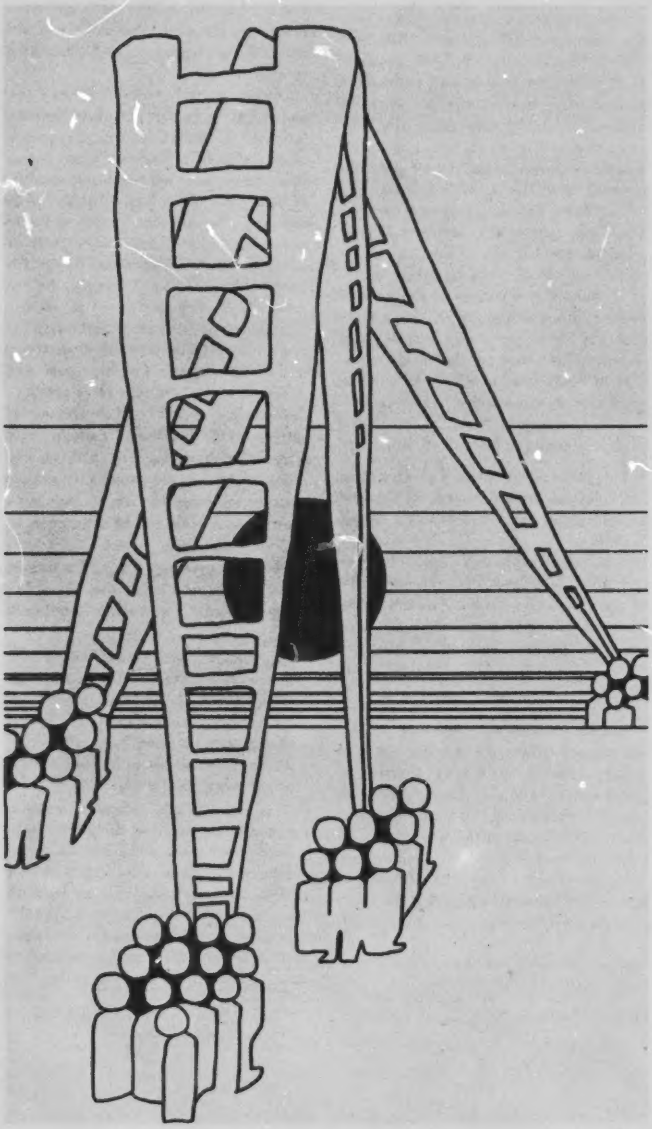
The emergence of these conflicts in the United States and in other countries around the world where there are large ethnic sub-cultures has caused many to take a closer look at the significance of ethnicity in our society today. Daniel J. Elazar points out that from the very outset of our history, religious, ethnic and geographical group arrangements and cultural streams have been a major force in shaping American social, economic and political institutions. In *Cities of the Prairie*, he describes three cultural streams within the overall American culture whose origins hark back to colonial times. One stream can be termed moralistic and was first articulated by the Puritans in New England; another was the traditionalistic social order that evolved in the South and received its fullest expression in the plantation system. A third, more individualistic cultural orientation developed in middle states such as Pennsylvania and New York reflecting the more ethnically diverse character of the population found there.[1]

In the course of the country's westward expansion these three cultural streams spread across the continent, generally in the northern, middle and southern thirds of the country respectively. Thus the movement of these cultural currents and populations out of their original areas to other parts of the country has significantly affected every section of the nation.

The arrival, finally, of large numbers of immigrants — beginning with the Irish and Germans in the mid-19th century and later those from Southern, Central and Eastern Europe — together with the emergence, most recently, of blacks, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans and other minorities has added to the multi-group and culturally diverse character of America.

Racial, religious and ethnic divisions in American life, of course, have not gone unnoticed in our annals. We are accustomed to paying homage to the positive contributions that various groups have made to our society. Politicians, who are perhaps our closest observers of ethnicity, have granted de facto recognition to ethnic diversity by balancing political slates with deference to group sensitivities.

The interaction, conflicts and accommodations between groups is the legacy of American history. In recent years, the



most intense ethnic collisions have tended to occur in the Northeast and Midwest where the ethnic mix is greater and more visible than in other parts of the country; in those areas of the West and Southwest where large numbers of American Indians, Mexican-Americans and Asian-Americans have been subjected to disadvantage and alienation; and in the South as a result of long-standing institutionalized racial segregation. The force of ethnic conflict generally recedes somewhat the further west one travels, where until recently more of the population tended to be drawn from older stock or at least third generation Americans who usually express their differences in more personal and associational, rather than ethnic ways.

A New Look At American Diversity

Negative stereotypes have distorted most Americans' view of minority groups. Moreover, ethnic identity is commonly seen as a problem that must be overcome somehow. Many social scientists and liberal intellectuals who have made sincere efforts to protect minority rights often consider religious and ethnic groups as vestiges of a primitive past that are destined to disappear. With the growth in human understanding brought about by a technology which has brought people and cultures closer together than ever before in our history, it is the hope of many that prejudice based on group differences will diminish. Throughout our history many have hoped that we will, one day, become one race: the human race.

Exceptional members of minority groups have been among those to adopt this world view. Writing about religion, Sigmund Freud declares:

> The whole thing is so patently infantile, so incongruous with reality that to one whose attitude toward humanity is so friendly, it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life. It is even more humiliating to discover that a large number of those alive today [who] must see that religion is not tenable, yet try to defend it inch by inch, as if with a series of pitiable rear guard action.[2]

Yet Freud himself was obviously racked with uncertainty on this issue: Erik Erikson quotes Freud as having said in an address to the Society of B'nai B'rith in Vienna in 1926:

> What bound me to Jewry was (I am ashamed to admit) neither faith nor national pride, for I have always been an unbeliever and was brought up without any religion though not without a respect for what are called the "ethical" standards of human civilization.
>
> Whenever I felt an inclination to national enthusiasm, I strove to suppress it as being harmful and wrong, alarmed by the warning examples of the peoples among whom we Jews live. But plenty of other things remained over to make the attraction of Jewry and Jews irresistible—many obscure emotional forces, which were the more powerful the less they could be expressed in words, as well as a clear consciousness of inner identity, the safe privacy of a common mental construction. And beyond this there was a perception that it was to my Jewish nature alone that I owed two characteristics that had become indispensible to me in the difficult course of my life. Because I was a Jew, I found myself free from many prejudices which restricted others in the use of their intellect; and as a Jew, I was prepared to join the Opposition and to do without agreement with the "compact majority."[3]

While granting the dangers that unbridled group chavinism represents, an increasing body of social scientific thought challenges the simplistic view of ethnicity as a receding influence in peoples' lives. In recent years, a group of writers on the "new pluralism" have argued that racial, religious and ethnic groups *are* a basic component of our social structure. Whether we like this or not is immaterial since they *are*, and, for the foreseeable future, *will be* a major force in our society.

These writers suggest that ethnic and racial pluralism not only powerfully affect our institutions but that they rival and are at times even more powerful than economic forces. "To be sure, there are class realities," Daniel P. Moynihan writes, "but ethnic realities are there as well. Increasingly they are the dominant realities. Social science needs to become much more sensitive to them."[4] Writers like Will Herberg point out that religion has become a more legitimate form of expressing ethnicity, while Elazar sees attitudes and values derived from ethnicity as more likely to stimulate political responses than those derived from class differences in the normal course of

political life. Most importantly, they view ethnicity as a positive force, a defense against "the lonely crowd" and the "mass society" and as a bastion for the preservation of the kind of healthy diversity that contributes to the preservation of individual liberty.[5]

Ethnicity And Occupational Choices

To grapple with the subtle and complex role that ethnicity plays in American life, it becomes increasingly important to look beyond the pathologies of racism, anti-Semitism or any kind of group prejudices. This requires analyzing the still largely unexplored world of differing group interests, values and lifestyles and the way these forces interact between groups and within the broader society.

It is evident from even a cursory study of many of our institutions that they are heavily influenced and sometimes dominated by various racial, religious and ethnic groups. Large scale power and decision-making areas have traditionally been in older stock, Protestant hands. Throughout America's history, people of English, Scottish, Welsh, Dutch and German backgrounds have occupied top positions in government, science, education and the military.[6] The pre-eminence of these groups in these areas is due, in part, to the fact that they had overwhelmingly represented the majority in this country from the Colonial period until this century when the great influx of immigrants changed the balance.

America's financial and industrial executive suites are still largely controlled by British-American and North European groups.[7] Research shows that white Protestant leadership in key economic areas actually increased during the years 1900 to 1950.[8] This same trend has been reflected in our political life as well. With only one exception, every United States President has come from a Protestant background and has usually been affiliated with an Episcopalian, Unitarian or Presbyterian church.[9]

America's racial, religious and ethnic groups have gravitated to or been pressed into certain fields of work which, in and of themselves, may have no special ethnic relatedness. In large measure, this is a result of the migration process. "As ethnic representatives invested their labor and talents in specific

areas of activity," Dennis Clark writes, "they drew with them in a natural fashion family members, associates and clients. Eventually they become identified with certain enterprises, reinforcing this identification with an ethnic prominence that served to augment their business and community status."[10]

Jews, for example, have traditionally been active in such areas as family-style businesses, sales and small manufacturing and lower and middle rungs of the civil service. The Irish have been drawn to local politics and government, particularly to the civil service. They are also heavily involved in the construction industry. Protestant and Catholic Germans, according to Andrew Greeley, tend to over-choose engineering careers. Slavic groups have constituted a significant portion of the work force in our coal mines and steel mills. These patterns are visible even within less orthodox forms of economic venture. Mark Haller's study of organized crime in Chicago shows that different ethnic groups have specialized in gambling, loan sharking, fencing, bootlegging and other forms of illegitimate enterprise.[11] The development of ethnic divisions of labor is frequently interpreted to demonstrate that certain groups are naturally drawn to or innately suited for certain fields of work. While there may be certain affinities involved, it is dangerous to make blanket judgments in such matters.

The pattern of ethnic division of labor is found throughout the world among ethnic groups who share a common habitat, neighborhood or social experience. The phenomenon of guest labor — foreigners recruited for European industry — is now inflaming group tensions on the Continent. Between World Wars I and II, Malayansians worked in rice plantations and Indians in rubber plantations in Malaysia, while the work force in the mines was primarily Chinese. Most Eurasians worked as clerks, while the Chinese operated the retail trade. In the Ituri forest in the Congo basin, Pygmies and their taller hosts live next to each other with the former providing honey and meat and the latter plantains.[12]

Patterns Of Ethnic Succession In America

Although the relationship of America's ethnic groups to certain occupations has not been systematically investigated, we can reasonably speculate about the origin and history of these

patterns. As the first arrivals — and, subsequently the best positioned group — British-Americans and ethnically similar groups came to occupy socially, economically and politically advantaged or prestigious positions although, of course, many remained at the lower rungs of the social and economic ladder. These groups shared a common sense of individualism and enterprise frequently identified as the "Protestant ethic" which has heavily influenced social and cultural patterns.[13]

Many Irish immigrants, predominantly poor and unskilled, began life here as manual workers. For those with energy and ambition, it was a natural progression from manning a shovel and wheelbarrow to becoming small, and later, large contractors. Religious discrimination and a separate religious tradition led the Irish to build a network of churches, schools and welfare institutions which provided a continuing source of construction opportunities.[14] Their knowledge of English and their quick grasp of American-style politics also opened up a variety of positions in city government and the civil service in general.

Even though many were poor, Jews came to America with a tradition that valued education. Many also arrived with a highly developed merchantile tradition but discrimination denied them entry into many areas of economic life. Jews gravitated to occupations where they could advance on the basis of individual merit. Jewish peddlers went into small retail businesses, a few of which evolved into enormous department stores like Gimbel's and Macy's. They entered into government service and public school positions, independent businesses and professional fields of law and medicine and, most recently, into college and university teaching. Circumstances pushed the more enterprising into newer or sometimes more precarious economic areas such as the garment industry, entertainment, electronics and real estate.

Similarly, Italians found the road from rags to riches difficult. Generally unskilled and from peasant backgrounds, they arrived without the social supports of church, politics, city contacts and contracts. Initially, many worked as ditch diggers, section hands on railroads, shoemakers, barbers and garment workers. Today, many Italians are very much involved in the fields of construction, public service and the mass media as well as the professions.

We have attempted to suggest the historical relationship of ethnicity to certain occupations. The major factors in this interrelationship are a group's social, historical and cultural experiences. To some degree, the effects of racial or ethnic exclusion were mitigated by the American creed of equal opportunity. It is important to recognize that class position in our society is not the simple Horatio Alger process Americans celebrate; it has varied along racial, religious and ethnic lines.

The Process Of Upward Mobility

By and large, while the first generation of immigrants has been locked into less remunerative and less prestigious occupations, succeeding generations have achieved positions of higher status. With few exceptions, blacks and other non-white minorities have not shared in this potential for upward mobility. As Peter M. Blau and Otis Dudley Duncan said in 1963, ". . . Negroes are handicapped at every step in their attempts to achieve success, and these cumulative disadvantages are what produced the great inequalities of opportunities under which the Negro American suffers."[15]

It is apparent that groups begin to move up, share power with other groups and sometimes replace each other in different areas of American life. This process has not yet been clearly examined or understood. In *The Newcomers*, Oscar Handlin traces the residential movement of older Dutch, English, Welsh, German and French families in the late 1800's from New York's Lower East Side to their entrenchment in the favored sections of Greenwich Village and the East Side of Manhattan as a result of the impact of the "new immigration" from Southern and Eastern Europe.[16]

Now we see the Southern and Eastern Europeans are being replaced by the movement of blacks and Puerto Ricans into these neighborhoods. In this exchange, the displaced groups often take with them the intangible as well as the tangible things that give a community its unique flavor, such as ethnic restaurants, stores, special gathering places and even the name and prestige of a particular school.[17] In turn, the newer groups bring their own distinctive characteristics and institutions with them into the area.

Just as neighborhoods have been changed, so too has the

ethnic composition of industry and business been altered as newcomers began to penetrate the economic structures. In the industrially expansive period of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, earlier groups that were displaced frequently moved up socially and economically, so that the strains of ethnic succession were eased somewhat. Southern and Eastern European immigrants took over many of the lower status jobs throughout the economy. Many of the older immigrant employees from Great Britain and Northern Europe moved up to become their supervisors and foremen.[18]

In the late 1800's, a few German Jewish merchants who started as peddlers began the saga of turning small retail establishments into major department stores. "For the most part," Rudolf Glanz writes, "the Jews merely inherited the mantle of Yankees who had 'gone up' in the world."[19] This pattern, however, varied in different parts of the country. The New York garment industry, which initially had a heavy Jewish and Italian work force, is now largely composed of Puerto Ricans and blacks, with a new influx of Chinese women.

The sports and entertainment fields have traditionally provided attractive possibilities for upward mobility to "ethnic outs" who had few contacts or marketable skills in the established business world. At one time, the Irish and Jews played major roles in these areas. They were followed by Italians and, most recently, by blacks, Puerto Ricans and Cubans.[20]

The political world provides the most dramatic and visible form of ethnic succession. Control of our cities' political machinery passed successively from older stock Protestant hands to the Irish and then to Jews, Italians and other ethnic groups. Samuel Lubell provides a classic picture of the transfer of political power to new groups represented by the candidacy of Al Smith in 1928 and the election of Franklin D. Roosevelt four years later.[21] Since the civil rights movement and race revolts of the 1960's, the growth of black political power has been illustrated by the election of black mayors in Cleveland, Gary, Newark, Detroit, Los Angeles and Atlanta.

Cultural leadership has followed a similar path of ethnic succession. In the field of literature, Jewish, black and Catholic writers in the 1930's and 1940's began the long climb which made them the successors of such writers as Sinclair Lewis,

Ernest Hemingway and William Faulkner. Norman Podhoretz credits Saul Bellow as breaking down the old stock literary tradition that held other regional and ethnic traditions in "colonial subjugation" and opening up the possibility of "literary pluralism."

> What Bellow the writer is saying is this: I am an American novelist, born into a Yiddish-speaking household and also educated to use fancy English with the best of them, and the way I speak as a result of these two facts, the way I really speak when I am being myself and horsing around with Isaac Rosenfeld, is a fully legitimate literary language. To appreciate the force of this assertion, we need only remind ourselves that fifty years earlier Henry James had come away from a tour of the Jewish ghetto on the Lower East Side wondering what would become of the knightly and embattled English language when the children and grandchildren of those same people came into possession of it. "Whatever we shall know it for," said James, "we shall not know it for English." Saul Bellow to Henry James: "Up yours, buddy."[22]

The passing on of power is not necessarily a result of older established groups being pushed out, although there are often bitter struggles. Many of the older stock, elite Protestant leadership were lured to the greater monetary reward of newly burgeoning industry in the 19th century; others simply transferred their political interests to another sphere.[23]

The process by which various ethnic groups emerge, rise, share power and prestige and sometimes replace each other is seen as evidence of the inexorable upward mobility that characterizes American life. However, there is nothing inevitable about what Robert Park and his students referred to as the "race relations cycle." In the context of world-wide ethnic stratification, our system is unique in many ways. In many countries, social and class structures have undergone little change. Britain's Labor Party leaders and members of Parliament are generally drawn from upper or upper middle class backgrounds. Underdeveloped countries frequently have a bitter history of colonization in which "colored" peoples have been subordinated, followed by anti-colonial movements that drive out the white, Western "exploiters." In these countries and

elsewhere we have witnessed recent outbursts of "tribal" dislocations and violence. One has only to recall the terrible struggle and loss of life that followed the efforts of the Ibos in Biafra to assert their independence from Nigeria, the war between India and Pakistan over Bangladesh and the guerrilla warfare of Protestants and Catholics in Northern Ireland. Existing beneath the surfaces of even "classless" communist countries are intense ethnic rivalries that threaten to tear them apart.[24]

Ethnic establishments throughout the world rarely move over and make room for "out" groups without intense resistance that frequently results in struggle and even bloodshed. The comparatively peaceful process of ethnic succession in this country, therefore, may become a model of successful group adjustment if we as a society can learn to respond adequately to the needs of racial minority and white ethnic groups that are still striving for recognition and upward mobility.

The Significance Of Cultural Variation

The central questions to be examined are how do various ethnic groups move up in our social system and what role does ethnicity play in this process. Many Italians and Poles have not achieved the educational, occupational and financial success of their Catholic Irish, German and Jewish predecessors. It seems clear that this in no way relates to the innate intelligence of various groups—Arthur Jensen notwithstanding—but rather has much to do with their social and cultural environments.

Ivan Light compares the success the Chinese and Japanese have had in creating a business class in America to the difficulties that blacks have experienced, despite the similar patterns of discrimination and disadvantage that each group encountered. He traces this to the ethnic groups' social systems and the supports they received from these systems. All three groups arrived with informal rotating credit systems that provided a source of financial assistance unavailable to them in banks. But slavery, and the system of peonage that followed, prevented blacks from adapting this system of rotating credit to their new environment.[25]

Susan S. Stodolsky and Gerald Lesser have demonstrated that certain educational skills or propensities remain constant for various ethnic groups regardless of whether members are

middle or lower class.[26] Manuel Ramirez III has found cultural differences in motivation: Anglo children are conditioned to be competitive and individually socially mobile; Chicano children value group cooperation, which is more consistent with their culture's strong kinship ties.[27] Aesthetic expression is a dominant characteristic of Japanese culture, while verbal expression is characteristic of Jewish and Italian culture. How children learn may have a much greater cultural variation than we previously believed. Educators who lack "cultural competence" may be doing a disservice to their students.

It is clear that ethnic background affects values, communication and self-identification patterns and community structures, which in turn are related to occupational motivation and choices.[28] At this point, our information is limited and far from synthesized, but is beginning to prove that ethnicity, even among second and third generation Americans, counts—often a great deal.

"Making It" In America

The phenomenon of group success is partly related to the similarity between the value systems, lifestyles and even physical appearance of the newer groups and those of the older, established ethnic groups. Even so, our early history is filled with episodes of conflict between various Protestant groups. Many earlier disputes have been resolved, but remnants of these struggles still exist and are reflected denominationally. While the earlier groups have largely merged structurally and culturally, the phenomenon of "Protestant particularism" is still alive.

The earlier groups' attitudes to later immigrants were conditioned on whether the latter were seen as potential competitors in the economic realm or as bearers of alternative values that challenged an established way of life. The large scale exclusion of Jews from executive suites of top corporations, while not as total as a few years ago, is a major example of the still lingering suspicion of differing business styles and social values. For newer groups which have sharply different cultural backgrounds and have experienced significant discrimination and disadvantage, the process of ethnic succession

often involves fierce competition between "ethnic outs" and "ethnic ins."

In these collisions, the "ethnic outs" draw upon group support systems as well as any assistance the broader society may provide such as recent anti-discrimination laws and affirmative action programs. As Louis Coser notes, ethnic conflicts provide an important safety valve for releasing resentments and also help to restructure our social and economic relationships.[29] The alternative to refusing to let the "outs" in is seen in many parts of the world today where ethnic conflict flares into violence.

America's system of ethnic succession is based on certain "rules of the game" that we have, by and large, accepted to maintain community peace and progress. The system works in the following way. Occupational specialization in our society has led to the domination of certain fields by one or a few ethnic groups. Unless attracted by opportunities elsewhere, these "ethnic ins" seek to maintain and augment their favorable position. Newer groups attempting to enter these fields must accept subordinate roles. Newer groups become dissatisfied with their subsidiary place and eventually attempt to challenge the status quo. At this point a struggle commences. The capacity of the "outs" to change the situation depends on the complex interaction of their potential social and political power, their willingness to use unorthodox tactics to make their claims on the system, the extent of opposition to them, and their ability to evoke sympathy for the past injustices they have suffered.

This process was historically seen in the heavy rioting of Protestant laborers in Philadelphia in 1844 when Bishop Kendrick demanded the elimination of the King James (Protestant) Bible and the substitution of the Douay Bible for Catholic public school children. Upper class Protestant leaders such as George Templeton Strong, an old-line New Yorker, at first greeted the violence as strengthening the hands of the "Natives." As the disorders grew, Strong confided his growing fears to his diary. On July 8 he recorded, "Civil War raging in Philadelphia . . . I shan't be caught voting for a 'Native' ticket again in a hurry." As a result, the pressures of Bishop Kendrick, Archbishop Hughes in New York and other Catholic leaders led to the modification of the Protestant domination of the public schools and the eventual secularization of schools.

The Growth Of Ethnic Power Blocs

When intense ethnic conflict develops, Americans become especially aware of the resentment of the "outs" and the promise of the "American creed" that calls for equal opportunity for all. Conflict resolution, however, depends upon the capacity of all groups to make concessions and recognize the contributions that newer groups can make if they are given the opportunity.[30]

In the classic and seminal study, *The American Dilemma*, Gunnar Myrdal and his associates tend to over-romanticize the power of the American creed to eventually adjust our promises to our practices, perhaps without fully understanding the intransigence of the political realities. The American creed is, indeed, a force of considerable meaning in our society but its weight is most keenly felt when it is harnessed to ethnic power realities. The successes blacks achieved during Reconstruction, for example, were reversible because they were largely dependent on the good will of sympathetic whites without being undergirded by a black social and political power base. Black gains of the 1960's and 1970's, which are being curtailed by our current economic crisis, will, in all likelihood, be largely maintained because they were obtained primarily through the institutionalization of their own political strength.[31]

It was the growth of Black Power—rather than the lack of it—that created the highly visible ethnic confrontations of the 1960's. By this time, blacks had made important breakthroughs. The 1954 Brown vs. Board of Education decision had laid the basis for ending government-sanctioned segregation in the schools. During the 1960's, there was a significant increase in the level of education attained by black Americans. By the early 1970's, an unprecedented number of blacks—37 per cent—had earned high school diplomas. Dropout rates also sharply declined, even though 17.5 per cent was still high as compared to a white dropout rate of 11.3 per cent. Between 1960 and 1973, black enrollment in college increased by 540,000, a gain of 370 per cent.

Many blacks had now achieved sufficient education and skills to enable them to seek entry into occupations from which they were previously excluded. Significant numbers of blacks had emerged from conditions of poverty and were entering the working and the middle classes. Much of this new, black middle

class is what Charles Hamilton calls a "public sector" middle class. Drawing salaries from civil service and other government-funded posts has determined "the sort of hard, self-interest positions this class will take on certain public policy issues."[32] It is necessary to note these gains without exaggerating them; large numbers of blacks and other "ethnic outs" continue to live their lives in quiet and not-so-quiet despair.[33]

The civil rights revolution marked the beginning of the movement of blacks and other minorities into the American mainstream. The pressures that developed during the 50's and 60's centered on the elimination of barriers that limited opportunities for blacks to achieve their full potential as individuals. The social and political alliance between blacks and sympathetic whites, including working class whites, was based on a shared ideal of individual merit rooted in a strong sense of individual worth and achievement. In 1963, when Martin Luther King shared his dream of an American society in which one day individuals would be judged "by their character rather than their color," he was identifying himself and other blacks with the definition of equality which is the very foundation of the American creed.

A New Concept Of Equality

The civil rights laws enacted in 1964, 1965 and 1968 that prohibited discrimination in education, employment, voting rights and housing were bolstered by the adoption of affirmative action programs. While the potential existed for affirmative action programs to later deteriorate into bitter struggles over "quotas," many believed that not only the courts but the full weight of the Congress and the Federal government should be brought to bear in the struggle for civil rights.

A new phase of an old struggle opened. The results achieved by blacks stimulated other groups to put forward demands of their own. Important figures within the civil rights and the women's movements, together with sympathetic allies, pressed for a redefinition of the idea of equality. They argued that we must move beyond equality of opportunity to equality of results. It is patently unfair, proponents of this view contended, to expect groups that have been disadvantaged by past discrimination to compete equally for a place in our society.

President Johnson articulated the essence of this argument in his famous phrase describing the minority group member as the "shackled runner." Daniel Bell spells out the concept of equality that has emerged:

> What is extraordinary about this change is that without public debate, an entirely new principle of rights has been introduced into the polity. In the nature of the practice, *the principle has changed* from discrimination to "representation." Women, blacks, and Chicanos now are to be employed, as a matter of right, in proportion to their number, and the principle of professional qualification or individual achievement is subordinated to the new ascriptive principle of corporate identity.[34]

A new system of preferential treatment was being advanced to replace the merit system, which has been both the pronounced and the underlying principle (though obviously often unequally applied) for allocating opportunities in American life. As Bell points out, past standards of merit were being eroded, credentials de-emphasized and increased use made of racial apportionment and quotas as a means of remedying past and present forms of discrimination. During the Johnson and Nixon administrations, the potent threat of loss of government grants and contracts pressed affirmative action programs forward in private employment and higher education.

It is apparent that such programs were not only necessary but long overdue. But there is mounting evidence that some of these programs have gone beyond affirmative action, and have been applied in such a way as to create a radically new basis for allocating positions at work and in school. The recent controversy has been so great that on December 12, 1974, the Office of Civil Rights released guidelines stating:

> The memorandum issues new guidelines that correct the misapprehension that affirmative action either allows or requires the dilution or waiver of educational standards. The Executive Order forbids differential standards based on race, color, sex, religion or national origin; forbids recruitment only of minorities and women and forbids employment advertisements which specify that minorities and women are preferred and seeks safeguards ensuring the anonymity of applicants for employment.

17

Areas of society that were not covered by the guidelines that were issued to institutions receiving government contracts were also deeply affected. The liberal journal, *Christian Century*, long an advocate of minority and women's involvement in church and secular structures, warned early in 1974 that quota systems within Protestantism may be barring "an entire generation" of young white males from policy-making positions in ecumenical and denominational agencies.[35] At the Democratic National Convention in 1972, the principle of selecting delegates on the basis of ethnic and other group proportional representation was adopted for the first time.

The movement toward racial and group representation has been keenly felt in the field of higher education. The most celebrated instance of the issues involved here is the De Funis case. A white magna cum laude graduate of the University of Washington with a near A average, De Funis was denied entrance into the law school in favor of 36 minority candidates with lower undergraduate grades and Law School Admission Test scores. "Our argument . . . is that if you're going to have equal access to the law and to society as a whole," Dr. Philip W. Cartwright, the University of Washington Vice President said, "we're going to have to admit on a different standard—to *admit* on a different standard, but not to graduate on a different standard."[36] On April 23, 1974, the Supreme Court sidestepped a ruling in the case by declaring the question moot because of De Funis' imminent graduation from the law school to which he won admission by a lower court ruling.

Ethnic representation proponents who seek to relax traditional standards emphasize the need to broaden opportunities for minorities and women, at least on a temporary basis, to permit these groups to "catch up." Some point out that ethnic considerations have always been important factors in allocating opportunities in our society, often hiding behind "the best man for the job" principle. They note that the application of the "merit principle" and "qualifications" have frequently been remote from many actual job requirements and instead have served to exclude particular groups. It has been argued that utilizing racial criteria and quotas for filling certain posts may help to introduce an element of fairness into the system.

Ethnic Malaise

The "rise of the unmeltable ethnics" and the emergence of Middle America takes place against the background of the debate over the admission of minorities and women into areas of American life from which they had been excluded. The white-black collision that has occupied the attention of Americans for a generation tends to obscure the fact that large groups within the American populace continue to be "ethnic outs"—many of whom are white—in various stages of their own struggle to become "ethnic ins."

These groups, representing persons of Italian, Slovak, Polish, Jewish, Greek, Hungarian, Ukrainian and other ethnic backgrounds, are products of both the mass turn-of-the-century immigration and the liberalized immigration legislation of 1965. With some exceptions, they, too, are still struggling for recognition, upward mobility and the preservation of modest gains laboriously achieved after years of struggle. Mario Puzo's moving characterization of Lucia Santo's struggle to keep her fatherless family together during the Great Depression in *The Fortunate Pilgrim* provides a better description of the world these "troubled Americans" live in than any recent sociological material. Among the descendants of those who endured these experiences, many have developed a new sense of pride and confidence in their right to define in their own terms what it means to be an American.

The decade of the sixties was as much a period of historic breakthrough for members of these groups, especially the country's 48 million Catholics, as it was for racial minority groups. Catholic immigrant groups from Eastern and Southern Europe, perceived in terms of negative stereotypes, had long been subjected to prejudice. Now Catholics under 40 are more likely to be college graduates and to be economically successful than their parents. By 1970, one-third of the nation's college students were Catholic, whereas a decade earlier the figure was a fourth. Many white ethnics who were firmly anchored in working class lifestyles worked to enable their children to advance socially and economically.

In beginning their climb and enjoying its first fruits, many

ethnics still confronted substantial patterns of exclusion from the American mainstream. They found that their intellectual and cultural traditions continued to be "despised or ignored by most of the American intelligensia."[37] During this time, an increasing number of Catholics, particularly those from Southern and Eastern Europe, became uneasy as they looked back on their past and anticipated their futures.

During the sixties and into the seventies, the Jewish community was generally united on most fundamentals including the necessity for an assault on the institutions of racial injustice and inequality and, of course, in support of Israel. The Six Day and Yom Kippur Wars kindled their sense of ethnic identity and peril and encouraged a mood of anxiety about their place in a world that unexpectedly became threatening.

Socially and economically, the Jews were divided. Upper middle class Jews, enjoying the benefits of post-World War II affluence and greater public acceptance, tended to be more liberal politically. A considerable number, however, were locked into a variety of lower and middle class occupations, such as public school positions. Many, having entered the field of education in the 30's and 40's, had parlayed their educational backgrounds and experience into administrative positions and were "poised ethnically," as it were, for the final breakthrough into top levels of leadership. The "Credo of Merit" and its increased use during the previous generation was the ladder for the upward climb. But suddenly they were threatened by the new concept of percentile equality that seemed to pose direct and immediate dangers to their job security.

A Clash Over Beliefs

Locally-based individuals and those who are more cosmopolitan-oriented often clash with each other. The former are more neighborhood- and ethnically-oriented and tend to cling to traditional values and lifestyles. The latter are usually better educated, more assimilated and willing to experiment with change both in their personal lives and in the broader society. "Cosmopolitans" and "locals" differ over such issues as new and more permissive patterns of morality, busing to achieve school desegregation, the use of quotas and preferential treatment to broaden opportunities for minorities and

women, and the use of "tough" or "soft" methods to deal with criminal offenders.

While "locals" accept the principle that equal opportunity should be extended to newer groups, they believe this must be done within the traditional framework of observing "rules of the game" applicable to all. Many are subject to the harsh realities of "ethnic bumping" and share a gnawing fear that the philosophy of ethnic representation is being institutionalized and that a variety of groups will make claims based on numbers in the population. They fear that such a trend threatens to transform our society in an ultimately destructive manner.

Clashes between white ethnics, racial minorities, women and others come at a particularly difficult time in American life and contribute to a heightening of group tensions. From post-World War II through the late 1960's, America sustained rapid expansion and development of what has been called the "metropolitan frontier." There was a dramatic growth of social, economic and technical opportunities which the civil rights movement helped blacks to be able to take advantage of. Jobs, status and the good things of life were within the reach of growing numbers of Americans in an expanding economy.

The first stage of the "metropolitan frontier" was short-lived. By the late 60's and early 70's it was coming to an end. The downturn of the economy forced us into a period of consolidation and retrenchment. The recession has exacerbated poverty and joblessness among blacks and other minorities and at the same time has fostered complaints of reverse discrimination among whites who feel they are being unfairly excluded from the job market because of affirmative action programs. Unemployment has severely complicated the issue of whether seniority systems should take precedence over anti-discrimination systems.

Political Changes

Recent politics reflected this mood of class and ethnic resentments in these times of scarcity. "Cosmopolitan" Mayor John Lindsay narrowly squeezed through to victory in 1969 only because the New York electorate split between his two more conservative opponents, both of them of Italian background. Four years later, he was succeeded by Abraham

Beame, a man of lower middle class origins and style who became the city's first Jewish mayor. In Philadelphia, Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo won the mayor's race in 1971 by defeating a liberal candidate who had inherited the city's mantle of reform which for years had been carried to victory by a coalition of upper class older stock Protestants and middle and upper class Jews. (Rizzo's immediate predecessor, James H. J. Tate, was the city's first Irish Catholic mayor.)

The 1968 and 1972 presidential bids of George C. Wallace and his growing acceptance outside the South represented a coalescing of small town and rural Southern Protestantism and the rising urban ethnic dissatisfactions. This wave crested with Richard Nixon's landslide re-election, which combined the Southern Wallace constituency with working class white ethnics, mainly Catholic, and a modest increase in support from lower middle class Jews. (These groups resisted departing from their traditional Democratic loyalties in 1968 and, since the disclosures about Watergate and related incidents, appear to be returning to them.) The vast majority of blacks voted for Senator McGovern.

The increase in the number of mayoralty and other political posts won by blacks in recent years marks a significant stage of ethnic succession and maturation of black political power. By the late 60's, white middle class rage collided head-on with black rage, with the women's movement adding to the instability of the times. Slackening of social progress in the United States had much to do with the breakdown in the traditional coalescing of these progressive groups. By 1975 there were new and healthy signs that they were again seeking each other out to construct new coalitions around economic and social problems that are less polarizing.

Conclusion

In this chapter, we advanced what to some will be an unfamiliar concept of the political influence of ethnicity. We examined the subtle and not-so-subtle ways in which ethnicity affects the lives of Americans. We also tried to suggest how this influence is likely to perpetuate itself in the future. The next chapter focuses on a case of ethnic succession: the entry and upward movement of blacks in teaching and administrative posts in the

Philadelphia schools in the 60's and early 70's and their partial replacement of Jews and Italians with the assistance of white Protestant "cosmopolitan" leaders of the school system.

This case study should be viewed against the backdrop of the social trends we have been describing. We have limited our analysis to ethnic factors in the hiring and promotion of teachers and school administrators and said very little about their relationship to school children. Although it is not examined in depth, we recognize that the ethnic composition of both the teaching staff and student body are of great significance in the educational process.

The case study was initiated after New York's traumatic school strikes and amid evidence of a marked rise in racial and ethnic tensions in the Philadelphia schools. The primary purpose was to gain a better understanding of the politics and dynamics of ethnic succession. We sought to determine whether we could develop useful ideas as to how to effect needed change without the kind of unfair social displacement that converts the once-dominant groups into an intransigent opposition. The research for this study, completed in 1971, was based on intensive interviews and a review of existing literature by staff of the Temple Center for the Study of Federalism. Our conclusions and suggestions for new "rules of the game" are found in the final chapters.

The Philadelphia Schools Story

Philadelphia, one of America's most polyglot cities, was founded on the principles of religious and ethnic pluralism. This commitment to cultural diversity is reflected in its official sobriquet, "The City of Brotherly Love." The city began with a mixture of English Quakers, Welsh, Swedish and German ethnic groups and later became the home of former African slaves, Indians and peoples from all over Europe. While Philadelphia was ethnically diverse, it was not until the last wave of European migration at the turn of the century that Italians, Jews and Poles created heavy non-Protestant concentrations in the city.

As the first major northern city above the Mason-Dixon line, Philadelphia has had a significant black population since its colonial period. Yet, it was not until the 1800's that the burgeoning black population added a new dimension to the city's heterogeneous face. This pluralistic character is today maintained through the continued migration of blacks and the accelerating migration of Puerto Ricans.

Rather than settling in Philadelphia proper, ethnic groups tended to stake out their own communities and create independent local institutions. Even after the 1854 consolidation of Philadelphia County, neighborhood patterns remained strong and were reinforced by institutional arrangements and settlement patterns within the enlarged city. The last institutional vestiges of the pre-1854 pattern did not disappear until the 1950's. In some cases, original settlement patterns are still intact.

At the same time that Philadelphia encouraged diversity, it developed a distinctly elitist social order composed primarily of early Quaker settlers who "came to the New World to do good and stayed to do well." As individual aspirations became more

immediate and energies were increasingly directed toward financial success, this upper class developed institutions (like the American Friends Service Committee) to pursue public goals. The individualistic culture that this group fostered dominates Philadelphia today.

The Political Atmosphere

Although old Protestant elites gradually began to withdraw from active political participation, the men they placed in office as city managers were Protestants and Republicans like themselves. Prior to the city's reform era of the 1950's — presided over by liberal patrician Democrats Joseph Clark and Richardson Dilworth—and the 1963 election of the first Roman Catholic mayor, James H.J. Tate, the city's administration had been thoroughly Republican for nearly 100 years.

The Irish and Italians, while retaining a certain degree of group cohesion, have adapted well to the dominant individualistic culture and have been skillful in playing the ethnic game in the political marketplace. They have traditionally concentrated on pursuing concrete rewards from politics — for themselves and their group — rather than seeking to maintain particular ideological commitments or programmatic goals. The moralistic penchant of Jews who have entered the political mainstream has either been submerged in the face of local realities or has led to a certain cynicism among those who found city politics notably uncongenial. Nevertheless, they have tended to be issue-oriented and liberal in their politics. Politically active blacks evince strong elements of their traditional southern Protestant sub-culture. Blacks as a group had been less likely to vote heavily. It is against these patterns that more militant black leadership has been fighting in recent years. Blacks who in the past attained positions of influence did not act as spokespeople for their group. Today, blacks operate much more as a bloc and have begun to advance as part of that bloc.

These factors have considerable bearing on the response of Philadelphia's ethnic groups to the problems of ethnic interaction within the city's public service and in the political arena. Moreover, the elitism which is characteristic of the city's history, and which has pervaded the city's political culture, is also a significant force.

School Government Before 1950

In the 1600's, William Penn, the Quaker founder of the Commonwealth, suggested "that all children within this province of the age of twelve years shall be taught some useful trade or skill, to the end that none may be idle, but the poor may work to live, and the rich may not want if they become poor." Despite this dictum, the colony's first schools were private and operated under the auspices of religious denominations such as Quakers, Mennonites, Episcopalians, Lutherans and Presbyterians.

Public education in Philadelphia formally began in 1818 when the State enacted legislation establishing a general system of education to enable the poor to become self-sufficient. Each county was responsible for organizing and maintaining a local school system. Philadelphia County, which embraced the territory now included in the City of Philadelphia, met the requirements of the new law. Its first "public" schools were open exclusively for the children of the poor and it was not until 1836 that, as a democratizing measure, they were opened to students not classified as poor. However, the city's wealthy parents continued to enroll their children in private academies, thus stigmatizing the public schools. In essence, the Philadelphia public schools have never fully overcome the stigma of their origins as schools for the underprivileged.

By the mid-19th century, there were forty-two school districts in Philadelphia. When the city acquired its 1854 boundaries, one of the conditions of the merger was that the schools continue to be governed on a neighborhood basis. This meant that the Board of Education was organized and administered by wards. Most districts were controlled by ward politicians and corruption was rampant. Teachers had to pay exorbitant fees for their positions, and standards within each district varied greatly. Schools were staffed and supplied through an open patronage system that reflected the constellation of political forces. To the extent that these political forces involved different ethnic groups (in those days even the immigrants from the British Isles and their descendants were divided ethnically as English, Welsh, Cornish, Scots, etc.), the problem of ethnic interaction was handled in a traditionally "political" manner.

Towards A Modern School System

The Progressive Era at the turn of the century brought reform to the Philadelphia school system, but only after a struggle between "cosmopolitans" and "locals." Cosmopolitan reformers, who accepted the Progressive Era's understanding of "efficiency and economy" through centralized control, advocated a centralized school system. The cosmopolitan-local dichotomy cut across ethnic lines. Many early reformers were descendants of immigrant Protestants, primarily of English, Scottish or Scotch-Irish backgrounds. A significant number were also German Jews. As a result of the reforms they instituted, certain educators of German-Jewish background rose to high positions in the school system. Two became Assistant Superintendents and one was appointed Acting Superintendent.

In 1902, an ordinance calling for a commission to study school reorganization was introduced in the City Council. It failed to pass at that time because of strong opposition from politicians who represented localistic and ethnic group interests. These politicians were based in the wards and reflected the commonly held attitudes of "locals" toward governance.

A modern school system began to evolve in 1905. The Central Board, which had been composed of one representative from each district, was cut in half. The selection of members-at-large, a technique commonly used by reformers, was introduced. Ward politicians lost control of the selection of teachers, who were now to be appointed on a civil service basis. This was the first step in establishing a merit system as the basis for hiring and promoting instructional and administrative staff.

In 1911, the consolidation of the school district was accomplished by reformers who attempted to place education "above politics" (and implicitly above ethnic group influences). But consolidation did not eliminate politics; it simply changed the locus of political decision-making and the cast of characters. Under the new system, the political struggle became internalized within the educational system and less connected with the city's larger political arena.

The "New Ethnics" Enter the System

Prior to the 1930's, the Philadelphia schools had a predominately white Protestant staff. By 1971, this situation was reversed: with a total of 17,298 employees, there were approximately 5,700 blacks, 5,000 Jews and 3,000 Italians.

Large numbers of Jews first entered the school system during the Depression, obtaining these positions with difficulty. Education was an appealing field because it was a respectable profession that provided adequate pay and considerable security. A smaller number of Italians and considerably fewer blacks followed the Jews into the city's school system under similar conditions.

By the end of the Second World War, the "ethnics" began to rise to more powerful, higher paying positions. The percentage of Jewish teachers was high. Jews could become elementary school principals, but discrimination denied them promotions to administrative and other specialized positions.

During the postwar period, school superintendents continued to be drawn from the ranks of the "old Americans." They followed the past practice of appointing people of their own ethnic backgrounds into positions of authority. It seemed that many of these administrators were not attuned to the needs of ethnic groups and it was during this period that the ethnic groups became more vocal in voicing their discontent with the widespread discrimination.

The Rise of Jewish Educators

Changes seemed inevitable in the quality of education and in the school system's political organization by the fifties. Moreover, the leadership of the school system appeared to be more sensitive to the problems of minorities and ethnic groups.

The Greater Philadelphia Movement (GPM) was organized in 1948 by a group of businessmen, bankers and other upper class liberals to work for civic improvement. Within a few years, the GPM began to zero in on the schools. They were soon joined by the Citizens Committee on Public Education, a group with specific goals for improving schools. These groups, cosmopolitan in orientation, united "older Americans" with a number of individuals from newer immigrant groups. Ethnics who were

committed to cosmopolitan values did not actively promote ethnic interests, but their very presence in these organizations helped open the doors to members of newer immigrant groups. The movement of white Protestants to the suburbs was another trend that enabled urban Jews to take on a wider array of leadership positions. In the postwar years, Jews represented 10 per cent of the city's population but they constituted a much larger percentage of those who were active in civic affairs.

In the 1950's, Jews in the school system formed a committee to examine promotion policies because they felt that they, as well as Italians and blacks, were being discriminated against. Blacks and Italians were urged to join in the committee's efforts to improve conditions but both groups refused. Italians preferred to take an independent course and black activists were already involved with the Educational Equality League which had been formed during the 1930's.

Committee members called attention to the fact that no Jews were in any position higher than elementary school principal. Up to that level, candidates were selected on the basis of merit through civil service examination. Beyond it, appointments were made by the school superintendent. The committee believed that Jewish principals were placed in the more difficult schools but, despite this, they were not promoted to higher positions that became available. Once this data was presented to the School Board, Jews began to slowly climb higher in the system. The real breakthrough came in 1957 when David Horowitz, a veteran Jewish educator, was named District Superintendent in a district that, ironically enough, was heavily Protestant. With that breakthrough, it appeared to many that times had changed and discrimination was becoming a thing of the past.

As late as 1963, however, Jewish educators still felt they did not have access to higher level positions. Responding to numerous complaints, the Philadelphia Chapter of the American Jewish Committee analyzed the religious and ethnic backgrounds of educators within the Philadelphia schools. As of September of that year, the AJC found that 2,200 of the 9,000 teachers (about one-fourth) were Jewish. Jews represented 31 per cent of the elementary school principals, 54 per cent of the junior high principals, and 27 per cent of the senior high and

vocational high school principals. In addition, 23 per cent of the assistant directors—a middle-echelon position—were Jewish. Of the 33 top-level policy-making positions, ranging from directorships to the school superintendency, only three (or 9 per cent) were held by Jews. This report confirmed that while Jews had made significant breakthroughs, *there were still relatively* few in the higher echelons of the school system.

Other Ethnic Groups Rise In The System

Italians rose to positions of authority in the schools about 15 years after the Jews, partly because they arrived in Philadelphia that much later. According to some individuals who were interviewed, the Columbus Forum was an instrumental force in Italian efforts to move into higher positions within the school system. A strong Italian community in areas such as South Philadelphia was also politically advantageous; the very concentration of the community enabled the group to use the political system to serve their needs along a broad front, ranging from regular city services to the school system.

The city's black community is larger but not as cohesive as the Italian community. Many blacks moved into the city after World War II, at the time that large numbers of whites began to move to the suburbs. This resulted in a black majority in the student population.

By the early 1970's, approximately one-third of the city's teachers were black. Blacks represented about 30 per cent of the professional staff and closer to 50 per cent of the non-professional staff. The ratio of black staff to total staff differed considerably at the elementary and high school levels: blacks composed 18 per cent of the high school staff and 40 per cent of the elementary school staff. And of the 287 schools in Philadelphia's system, there were 45 black principals.

School Reform and The Ethnic System

Adoption of the Education Home Rule Charter in 1965 represented the culmination of Philadelphia's postwar school reform movement. This Charter stipulates that nominations for school board members, who previously had been appointed by judges of the Court of Common Pleas, were to be presented to the Mayor by a panel of civic, labor, business and educational

leaders. (Ethnic leaders were conspicuously absent from the nominating panel.)

Mayor James H. J. Tate appointed a new school board in December of that year. In selecting board members, Mayor Tate seems to have made a conscious attempt to maintain some degree of ethnic balance, although control of the board remained in the hands of the "cosmopolitans." The new Board President was former mayor Richardson Dilworth, a patrician reformer whose rise to power had been independent of the political machine. Dilworth did not like to think in ethnic terms. A political realist, he was aware that ethnicity was a powerful factor in the political arena, but he believed people should "rise above" their ethnic origins and participate in civic affairs without regard to their ethnic backgrounds.

The Shedd Revolution

Soon after taking office, the new school board named Dr. Mark Shedd as Superintendent of Schools. Shedd, who previously headed the school system in Englewood, New Jersey, brought to his post a strong reform attitude, particularly in regard to opening up the system to blacks and other minorities.

The Dilworth-Shedd administration viewed the personnel in the Philadelphia school system as functioning at the height of mediocrity where, like in the military, all one had to do to get ahead was to keep quiet and sit at a desk long enough. They were determined to change that. Their first priority was to revamp the old system, especially the financing and planning divisions. A number of new officials were recruited from outside the city to undertake the job of making substantial changes in the school system.

Many of those already in the school system were excited about the changes that were presumably in the offing. They welcomed the reform that was coming and felt this would allow them the opportunity to begin providing quality education to the city's children. However, many of the "ethnics" and "locals" who had struggled long and hard to reach their positions were discomfited that they were given no role to play in the process of initiating reform.

From 1965 to 1968, few of the current administrators objected to the reformers because, after all, they felt secure in

their jobs. But some of the new objectives were threatening. Shedd had made it clear that the lack of blacks in the school system was one of his prime concerns. He took the position that there was a need for more black teachers, administrators and workers on the grounds that institutions should reflect the changing population base. Reformers believed that established educational methods were failing to reach the ghetto children; therefore, they should be changed for all children. The schools were to be modernized, new departments were to be formed and the system was to be run on a more businesslike basis. By and large, this required the expansion of personnel at district headquarters, known locally as "21st and the Parkway."

Dilworth and Shedd hoped that by building a parallel system, especially in the areas of planning and financing, the old-timers would eventually retire and the evolving system would eventually replace them. This tactic was not new to reformers. In fact, Dilworth had successfully used it during the 1950's in City Hall by ignoring the Democratic Party and building up a parallel organization. He believed this method would work successfully in the school system.

Threatening Signs

The first events that hinted at trouble ahead for the established administrative personnel (many of whom were Jewish) were retreat sensitivity sessions designed to make people more aware of black-white problems. Many who participated in the sessions felt the reformers tended to bend over backwards to support the aspirations of emerging groups at the expense of the old-line administrators. This alienated some people of white ethnic backgrounds, many of whom were liberal or moderate on racial issues.

The established administrative personnel also became alarmed at the Superintendent's selection of his immediate aides. Under the new Charter, the superintendent could appoint up to five per cent of his staff at the level of vice-principal and above without subjecting them to the usual certification examination and eligibility requirements. Shedd used this perogative to bring a group of young, articulate reformers into positions of authority. As a result, he was accused of creating a "Harvard Mafia" in Philadelphia. Furthermore, the general

perception was that he was giving most of the new administrative openings to blacks. This view is not borne out by facts. While statistics were not available, sources we consulted said that blacks received less than 50 per cent of the appointments. However, they believe this was a higher percentage than would have been appointed if no special effort had been made to recruit blacks.

Shedd's policy of recruiting both "outsiders" and significant numbers of blacks to high level positions was discerned as an indirect attack on those educators already in the system who felt that they were qualified for these jobs. Long-time school employees believed that their opportunities for promotions were becoming limited and that they ought to openly articulate their concerns.

People in the sytem were not the only ones angered by Shedd's policies. Eventually, the Mayor and many private citizens took stands against the Superintendent. Two particular incidents were initially responsible for his unfavorable public image. A confidential memo from one of Shedd's new assistants suggesting that the school budget be manipulated and given a Madison Avenue format to hide certain expenditures was leaked to the public. This incensed the Mayor and many others in the city. Of course, the memo was only a suggestion but the fact that the sentiments had been expressed led people to suspect that Shedd shared them.

The second and more damaging incident was a memo written by a Shedd aide that went out under Shedd's signature on the need for changing the complexion of the school system's administrators. This memo was interpreted as lambasting old-line personnel, and considered by many to be insulting, derogatory and prejudiced. The memo stated that many of the educators who were second and third generation Americans and had worked their way up in the system held archaic ideas about education and suggested that Philadelphia needed a new program for recruiting and training administrators. The language of the report was seen as crude; misunderstanding was inevitable. Italian, Jewish and other administrators perceived this as an attack on them and their backgrounds. Although Shedd retracted the memo and said it had gone out without his approval, it was believed to express his thoughts.

The Turning Point

The tension climaxed when the first budget cuts were made in May, 1968. Referred to as the "purge," it eliminated 381 positions to save an estimated $3.8 million a year. In fact, only 280 of these positions were filled at the time, and about half were clerical or non-professional positions. Still, more than one hundred administrators were demoted and many of the individuals who were affected were Jewish.

A closer examination of the 1968-1971 organizational charts reveals an increase in the number of administrative positions, evidence that Shedd was creating new positions in an attempt to establish a parallel organization while simultaneously eliminating the old-time "locals." One man who was affected by this policy shares his reaction:

> I was very excited when Shedd came to Philadelphia. With the new Board and a new administration, I believed I could finally put some of my ideas into operation. I was interviewed by Shedd before he became superintendent and was optimistic about the whole reform movement. I had rung doorbells for Dilworth and have always been a Democrat. Well, I lost my job in the May '68 "purge." I have it back now, with a different title and about half the work. Another man sits at my old desk and does exactly what I used to do, only he has a different title. I'm very opposed to Shedd and Dilworth and very bitter about the whole incident.

It appeared to many that they had been forced out to make room for blacks and other educators who Shedd had selected for his new system. These events caused many educators from white ethnic groups to conclude that Shedd was unsympathetic to them and therefore threatening to their group interests.

In the long run, the new Board's "Sunday punch" at the old system failed. Shedd and Dilworth lacked the political clout to carry out their policies in the face of political opposition from the Mayor, private citizens and those within the system who were not willing to yield their hard earned positions.

After 1967, the school issue became one of the focal points for the political opposition of Philadelphia's "locals" to the "cosmopolitan's" efforts to restructure civic life. To a large extent, the conflict was expressed in ethnic terms. It is note-

worthy that a candidate in the 1971 mayoralty contest, city Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, became the great hope of the "locals." He concentrated part of his campaign on a promise to remove Shedd from the Superintendent's Office. Rizzo won the election and shortly thereafter Shedd resigned. Shedd was replaced by Matthew Costanzo, a Philadelphia educator of Italian background.

At the same time, Dilworth's term as President of the Board expired and he was not reappointed. Instead, a Jewish board member, William Ross, was elevated to the position. The Costanzo-Ross alliance was typical of what soon emerged as a coalition of Italians, Jews and other "locals" who gained dominance in city government under the Rizzo administration.

While the new power alignment put a brake on many of Shedd's experiments, the basic thrust of the Shedd years was maintained in at least one respect: blacks continued to insist that predominantly black schools have predominantly black professional staffs.

Organizing For Ethnic Advancement

The events of 1968, especially the "purge" of 381 positions, stimulated Jewish teachers and administrators to organize in order to protect their interests. The first Jewish teachers' group was the B'nai B'rith Teachers' Lodge, a male organization within the national B'nai B'rith system. There was talk of forming a female chapter, but this never materialized even though nearly two-thirds of the Jewish teachers in the Philadelphia system were women.

Of the city's 5,000 Jewish educators, about 300 joined the Teachers' Lodge. The membership represented about 200 teachers and 100 administrators (approximately 90 per cent of the Jews who held administrative positions). The chairman of the Teachers' Lodge was a local high school teacher and its Board of Trustees was comprised of educators with impressive credentials. The Teachers' Lodge primarily reacts to crises. If someone registers a complaint, it generally answers by publicizing the situation in the local English-Jewish press. The city-wide press generally does not carry such items. The Teachers' Lodge is characterized by its crisis-response philosophy and a lack of leadership from people in high administrative positions.

In striking contrast to the Jewish organization is the Columbus Forum, an effectively structured Italian group formed by education and political leaders in 1966. The Columbus Forum represented between 800 to 1,000 of Philadelphia's 3,000 Italian teachers. Commenting on the high proportion of Italian teachers in the Columbus Forum, observers note that kinship and community ties are particularly strong among Italians and that they tend to join together in fraternal groups. An Italian who has reached a high position often feels responsible for assisting others.

An indication of the Columbus Forum's strength is its ability to attract large numbers of people to its dinners, including many of the city's most influential leaders. Another strong point is that the Venerable, the organization's leader, is the highest ranking Italian in the school system.

The black community has a long history of organized effort to fight discrimination and improve the status of black educators. The Educational Equality League, formed in 1932 to protest a racially derogatory textbook, has been the most influencial of the black associations. The League has a highly successful record in fighting for integration and against racism.

The Black Educators' Forum (BEF) was founded in 1970 to organize blacks employed at all levels of the school system and to help respond more effectively to the needs of black children. It is the first black group to encourage non-professionals to join. There were approximately 5,700 blacks employed by the Philadelphia school system at the time of our study; about 1,500 were members of the BEF.

Three organizations that cut across ethnic lines also function to protect the interests of personnel in the Philadelphia school system: the Administrators' Alliance, the Principals' Association, and the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers (PFT). The PFT is the most well-known of the three. Most of its support comes from Irish and Jewish educators, with slightly less support from blacks and Italians and almost no backing from white Protestants. Black distrust of unionism at first made it difficult to organize an integrated group. The breakthrough came when Dr. Martin Luther King and Bayard Rustin endorsed the PFT. Without their support, many believe the union would be far less effective.

Black teachers also formed Teachers Concerned in an attempt to document and eliminate instances of harmful educational practices, primarily in black schools. Along with another group, Teachers for Social Action, they have sponsored various forums on racism and on the poor quality of education in Philadelphia in order to draw attention to these concerns.

Reflections On Philadelphia's Ethnic Succession

Despite "white backlash," political victories continue to move blacks into higher positions within the school system. In 1974, there were 84 black principals in the Philadelphia schools, almost double the 45 black principals in 1971. Blacks, however, still contend that they are not receiving proper recognition or promotions within the system.

The ethnic confrontations of the 60's have died down somewhat. The Dilworth-Shedd administration, which sought to bring more blacks into leadership positions to make the system more viable for a growing black student body, set off ethnic tensions due to a lack of sensitivity to existing ethnic group relationships. Given the dominance of certain groups within the education structures and the need for change, this perhaps was inevitable. Perhaps, too, a large bureaucratic system can tolerate only a certain degree of change before returning to a quieter mode of operation. In any case, the Costanzo administration helped to stabilize ethnic tensions. In 1975, Superintendent Costanzo resigned and was replaced by Michael P. Marcase, a veteran school official who is prominent in the Sons of Italy and served as a past Venerable of the Columbus Forum.

An interesting footnote to the process of ethnic succession is that William Ross, a Jewish former board member, succeeded Richardson Dilworth, as School Board President. Ross was succeeded by Arthur Thomas, a black.

It seems logical that Philadelphia schools will be less attractive to Jews as a field of employment and an avenue for upward mobility in the coming years. Jews had entered the country's school system at a time when discrimination barred them from the corporate structure and from many other careers. Public education was a step-up. They entered the 1960's equipped by educational background and experience to move up to the highest levels of leadership. It is possible to argue that in the

process of ethnic succession, the Jews lost out. However, this over-simplifies the issue and the process. By the late 60's and early 70's, many Jews had broadened their social and economic aspirations. Others had moved into suburban school systems that are in earlier stages of ethnic succession.

Educated Jews are now finding new career opportunities in the new technology of the "metropolitan frontier," in corporations and in the world of higher education that were once the exclusive province of older groups. In a sense, they are being pushed up as well as out (as were the older groups before them) by pressures from other groups. The positions they vacate are being filled by blacks and members of other white ethnic groups for whom the schools offer many of the same opportunities and challenges Jews found in the 30's and 40's. In this exchange, there are obviously both social gains and losses for school personnel and students, but the ability of newer groups to move in-and-up invigorates the American ideal of equal opportunity for all its citizens.

Future Speculations

These trends are, of course, somewhat speculative and long-range. For the foreseeable future, many white ethnics and blacks will continue to see in public education opportunities for careers and service, particularly in large metropolitan areas. The current downturn in the economy has made such positions even more attractive than they might have been only a few short years ago.

In a recent speech on how ethnic succession works, Irving M. Levine said, "We would do well not to confuse the long-range potentialities of ethnic succession with the short-term displacement of competent and worthy individuals whose rights to due process must be protected. Their rights to retain honorably earned positions must get a weighing on the scales of legitimacy with the just claims of excluded minority groups.

"We ought to also maintain a realistic view of such unique histories as that of the Jews. History is replete with examples of Jews reaching a point of relative success and then being viciously attacked and downgraded for that very success. To describe an historical process, such as the way ethnic succession has worked on the American scene, does not mean that the

inexorable laws of history will work equally well for all groups. They don't. The black experience in the United States is glaring proof that exclusion from the economic mainstream can last for centuries. The Jewish experience around the world shows a mixture of both economic success and economic and social degradation, with success always somewhat tenuous and transitory."

The point we wish to make is that ethnicity and the politics of ethnic succession are fundamental aspects of public education in a pluralistic society. We must understand the inevitability of this process in a society such as ours.

Major Findings

Our primary conclusion is that public education is by nature a political issue. This statement is substantiated by several observations. First, schools, along with the family and religious institutions, are principal agents of socialization. Citizenship education is incorporated into the formal and informal curriculum; it is part of the process and content of education. In American schools, the study of Western Society's cultural heritage includes an emphasis on goals, aspirations and past accomplishments. Frequent displays of patriotism and allegiance reaffirm the centrality of political influences in schools. Social science literature is replete with references to educational institutions as political socializers. In the early days of public education, the Americanization of foreign-born students was viewed as a primary goal. While this emphasis has been radically diminished in recent years (many believe at an as yet undetermined social cost), there are numerous schools where inculcation of patriotic values is still a matter of major concern.

Secondly, schools are politicized by the selection process of school board members who are either directly elected or appointed by elected officials. They are public figures who may represent one or more interest group.

A third major factor turning education into a political issue is that public schools are sources of income and employment for thousands of people. The Philadelphia school system, for example, today employs 22,000 people; in terms of size, it is second only to the city government as an employer. Also, the administration of large sums of taxpayers' dollars is always a political issue. Millions of dollars are required to sustain a large school system. Where, how and to whom these dollars go provides a classic arena for the playing of politics.

The Powerful Influence of Ethnicity

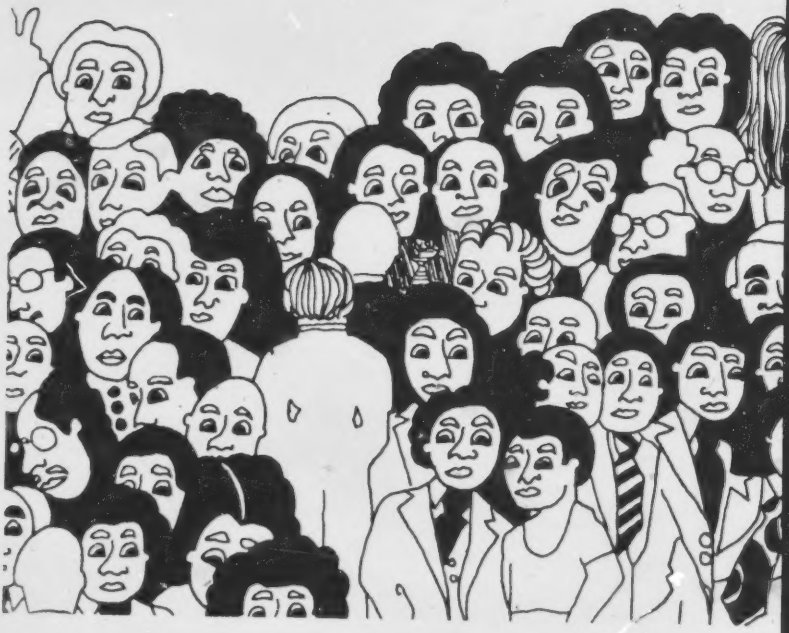
Politics, in the sense used here, can be broadly defined as competition for control over the allocation of public resources. Interest groups organize to secure their share of resources and to insure input in the decision-making process. Ethnicity is only one basis for differentiating between groups but, in politics, ethnicity still maintains great strength even years after its impact was predicted to be a waning one. Ethnic organizations recruit members by stimulating group loyalties and identities. Thus, public education functions as one political arena for the competing influence of ethnic groups.

Within the Philadelphia school system are distinct ethnic group organizations of Italians, blacks and Jews such as the Columbus Forum, the Black Educators' Forum, the Educational Equality League and the B'nai B'rith Teachers' Lodge. The influence of ethnic groups is less overt in organizations with multi-ethnic memberships such as the Principals and Administrators' Union, the Philadelphia Federation of Teachers, the Greater Philadelphia Movement, Teachers for Social Action and the non-instructional unions. Nevertheless, on close examination, each of these organizations can be seen to be strongly influenced by one dominant ethnic group.

The delicate balance of ethnic group representation on the Philadelphia School Board is subtley maintained. In 1971, when our study was underway, three new members were appointed to the School Board, each representing distinct ethnic interests. When their appointments were announced, each new member was seen as succeeding an ethnically dissimilar counterpart, but this maneuver actually represented the playing-out of a thinly disguised game of "ethnic musical chairs." Although we are beginning to deal more openly and more realistically with ethnic group arrangements in our society, there is still a prevalent tendency to pretend that these factors are of no great consequence.

Ethnic Blocs As A Political Force

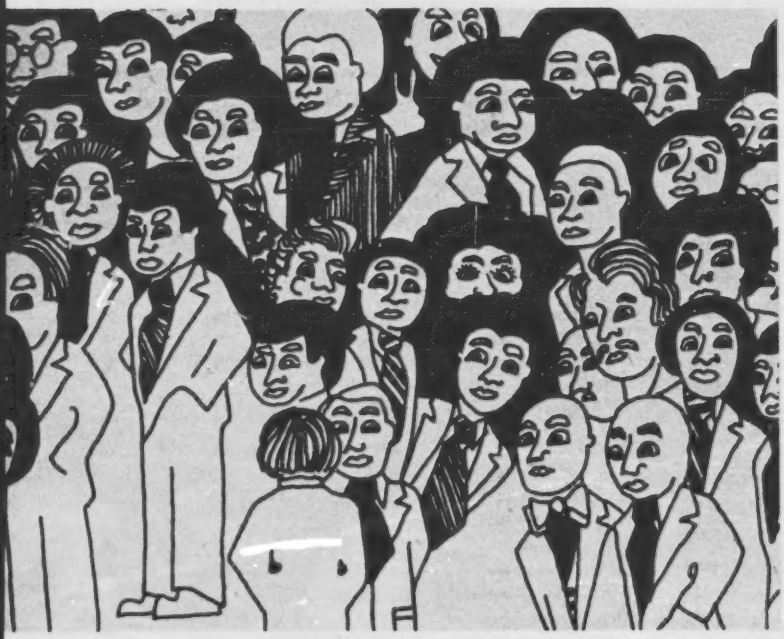
A second major observation is that ethnic groups differ both in the degree of political cohesiveness they have achieved within the Philadelphia school system and in their willingness



to use bloc pressure tactics to protect and advance their interests. The most cohesive group are the Italians, who have adapted their cultural predilection for intragroup responsibility to the realities of the Philadelphia political marketplace. The Columbus Forum has the highest percentage of potential members among school employees in its organization and its membership cuts across the entire hierarchy of the school system.

Blacks are more fractionalized even though, like the Italians, they accept the legitimacy of using the political power of a bloc to achieve group interests. Their lack of cohesion is reflected in their division among several organizations. Although each black organization has similar goals, multiple memberships often create cross-pressures. There is also discord between black Philadelphians who rose through the ranks to positions of influence and those blacks who were recruited for high posts from outside the city.

The Jews are the least cohesively organized of the three



groups, at least within the Philadelphia school system. This reflects basic Jewish cultural predispositions; in the same way, the stances of the Italians and blacks reflect their respective cultural patterns. Jews began with a strong interest in abstract principles—of merit hiring and advancement, in the school system case. However, the Jewish position is shifting as the pressure of group competition grows. Only lately have they seriously looked at their more concrete group interests. Jewish organizations such as the B'nai B'rith Teachers' Lodge lack support from high ranking school administrators. In addition, the Teachers' Lodge and other quasi-political Jewish organizations in Philadelphia respond to crises rather than function as representatives of group interests on a day-to-day basis. While they express their opinions on policies already decided upon, as a group they do not effectively influence decisions in the Philadelphia school system.

While those of Scotch, German or English descent no longer

seem to think of themselves as members of politically active ethnic groups, they are still a strong force within the community. In this respect, they have moved into a more advanced stage of sub-communal maintenance in American society. Until 1971, they held the highest positions in the school system, but they were toppled from this summit by Frank Rizzo's election. Until Rizzo appointed Matthew Costanzo, the city's school superintendent had always been a Protestant of early American immigrant origins.

The three ethnic groups have different political cultures. Italians synthesize the traditionalistic and individualistic political cultures. Family and ethnic group loyalties are very strong, and Italian-Americans believe that opportunities for advancement will come more readily if they rise as a group. At the same time, they are willing to accept the use of politics as a means for personal advancement.

For generations, blacks were excluded from society's mainstream and they were forced to rely on family and friends for aid. However, the dominant individualistic political culture served to lessen the impact of their communal potential. As blacks become more fully integrated into society, the question arises whether many will identify with the dominant Protestant individualistic tradition based on a shared earlier historical experience or whether an authentic form of black communalism will flourish.

Jewish political culture is, by and large, moralistic. Individual success is valued but there is an often exaggerated aura of pride that such success should only be attained through study, hard work and merit. While Jews, like others, will rely on political patronage and family background as a means of getting ahead, their political culture prefers meritocracy.

Philadelphia's Protestants, reared in a culture that values individual success as well as moral virtue, place much less significance on family and community ties than the other groups. Certainly, this has limited their cohesion as a group.

Of course, all ethnic groups in the United States have adapted to some extent to the dominant culture stream. It is the way they have adapted that is important and this is largely determined by their ethnic or religious background.

Some Major Areas of Difference

Ethnicity is not the only basis for cleavage in the school system. Divisions also form as a result of age differences, conflicting political or educational philosophies, and social or economic class. For instance, more traditional teachers tend to view education as a means of transmitting a given body of knowledge—the cultural and scientific tradition of Western Society. They accentuate factual learning and believe in discipline for its own sake. Modern educational theory places a much greater emphasis on the overall emotional, psychological and intellectual well-being of the student. More liberal teachers employ teaching techniques that stress value clarification, inquiry and reflective thinking and favor non-graded schools, the open classroom and individualized instruction.

The generational conflict is manifested in another way. Jewish teachers first entered the school system in the 1930's and 1940's. Blacks were excluded until the 1950's and Italians entered the system during the years in between. Historical patterns show that it takes about a generation for a group to move into policy-making positions in the school system. This was true in the case of the Jews. However, blacks and Italians were increasingly placed in influential positions by the School Board that was appointed in 1965. While this was an attempt to remedy previous injustices, many Jews who were on the verge of rising to more powerful jobs came to feel that they were trapped in middle-level positions.

The cleavage between the assimilationists and non-assimilationists of each group cuts across ethnic lines. Assimilationists, who prefer to adopt the values of the dominant Protestant culture, perceive schools as institutions for fostering cultural homogeneity on the basis of a common Americanism. Non-assimilationists, who seek to maintain their ethnic identity and strong ethnic ties, believe the schools should foster ethnic and racial pride. The philosophy that schools should positively reflect the cultures of all groups is strongly supported by large numbers of blacks and by many members of ethnic groups. Jews, who have religious schools to transmit their traditions, have, in the past, held the opinion that public schools should be

as neutral as possible to avoid "sectarianism" of any kind.

The last cleavage to be mentioned here is between the adherents of a system of preferential treatment and those who support the merit principle. Advocates of affirmative action believe that changes in the population must be reflected in personnel modifications of the institutions that serve the public. In recent years, this view has often been expressed by the liberal white Protestant leadership who are sympathetic to black efforts to enter into the higher echelons of the school system. The merit principle assumes that fair and objective criteria for measuring competence are available and that status and power are earned in a value free and color blind system. This credo is adhered to by most Jews and, to a lesser extent, by Italians who benefit to some degree from both positions.

Directions For Future Study

The Philadelphia study undoubtedly raises more questions than it answers. Efforts were made to uncover a pattern of ethnic interaction over several generations as successive waves of new ethnic groups entered the school system, but little historical evidence was unearthed from before the 1930's. The interviewers were unable to locate people who could accurately recall events before then. Moreover, an exploration of relevant literature (including several doctoral dissertations on the history of the Philadelphia school system) revealed no significant data. As a result, we cannot judge whether the history of the past forty years is unique or whether it represents a repetition of what occurred when increasing numbers of Irish and German teachers entered the school system a generation or two before or, for that matter, whether similar patterns of ethnic succession existed even earlier. These questions still remain to be explored.

This study suggests other questions for further inquiry. Some deal with the nature and future of ethnic groups in the United States; others deal with relationships between ethnicity and the school system.

It seems obvious that the rise of Jews, Italians and blacks in the Philadelphia school system reflects the merger of the leadership of older groups and newer ethnic and minority groups.

Indeed, this coalescence parallels the growing merger of these groups from the days of the New Deal to the present.

What is crucial, however, is that the accelerating speed with which previously excluded groups have been introduced into the mainstream has now generated conflicts with ethnic groups that have not yet satisfied their needs for upward mobility. Jews and Italians are locked into a kind of confrontation with blacks, competing for places that opened up to all three groups at the same time. Blacks benefited from the "ethnic succession" push of the Jews and Italians and were able to rise within the system more quickly after they gained initial recognition as legitimate aspirants. This is a natural situation, but it does lead to new kinds of competition.

The situation is further exacerbated by the claim that blacks are entitled to preferential treatment because they were the last group to be allowed into the mainstream. This claim gained favorable response from members of the liberal Protestant elite, mainly because of their recognition of the injustices that blacks have suffered in America. It may also be that the American black sub-culture was less alien to the Protestant leadership than were the "foreign" cultural patterns of Italians and Jews. As liberal Protestant elites allied with blacks in support of the system of preferential treatment, the Jews and Italians became fearful that their struggles for upward mobility would be stalemated. As a result, they combined forces to fight against this new system.

Understanding The Dynamics of Ethnic Succession

What happened in Philadelphia could happen in any city, regardless of the ethnic groups involved. Even now, this suggests a number of questions that need to be monitored and investigated more intensively. Irving M. Levine, looking broadly at the problem of ethnic succession in American society, suggests we ask ourselves the following questions and work harder to find their answers:

(a) How has ethnic succession operated in the past? Are there social cycles we can learn from and apply to today's pressing problems?

(b) What happens to groups involved in conflict over ethnic

succession? Does the group with influence and power necessarily get pushed out and down by emerging forces, or does it perhaps progress to new areas which it had been unaware of as realistic options?

(c) What happens to individuals from "displaced" groups who lack the ability to move into new areas? Has "society" taken responsibility for helping those individuals? Is there an analogy between such "social displacement" and technological displacement, where workers have been retrained when their jobs became obsolete?

(d) What mechanisms have been created or might be created to assure access to training, employment and economic justice for individuals who are part of formerly excluded groups, which at the same time would assure the maintenance of appropriate institutional standards?

At the same time that a sense of ethnic consciousness is growing in many segments of the population, it is clear that there are large numbers of people from various ethnic and racial groups who have a thoroughly assimilationist orientation. They are not easily identified precisely because they are assimilationists and seek to merge into the general American culture. Despite their silence (or perhaps because of it), advocates of the melting pot philosophy insist that they represent the wave of the future and that the present ethnic revival or legitimization is a last stage in the struggle for admission into the broader culture. They maintain that once all Americans have equal opportunities, relatively few will wish to preserve differences that could keep them out of the mainstream. If this interpretation is accurate, the current flourish of interest in ethnicity would become a footnote to history, not a portent of future trends.

Even if assimilation is to be the future prospect, evidence indicates that cultural differences do survive over many generations and are identifiable when researchers test for values, behavior and expressiveness. This is true even in areas of the country where the population seems to be highly assimilated. In communities with a multiplicity of ethnic groups, ethnic interests are recognized and the process of ethnic succession is frequently a matter of community tension and concern.

New American Dilemmas

There is much debate over the extent to which schools should consciously be used as avenues of social mobility for staff members, especially when there is a possibility that the quality of education and non-educative factors may suffer. To some, the issues are two sides of the same coin: a child learns better, they argue, by identifying with an authority figure from a common cultural background. To others, a quality education is the key to social mobility and a teacher's cultural background is of negligible importance.

This brings attention to a broader question: to what extent should the public school system serve as a vehicle for solving social problems that afflict the general society? Do schools, as public institutions, have an obligation to serve as levers for the integration of adults as well as children? If so, to what extent? Are there limits to the school's role in this regard?

An even larger question can be raised: to what extent should any new definition of equality be based on percentile representation? This issue emerges in the current struggle over job tenure during a recession, which is resulting in collisions between senior employees and recently hired minorities.

The pursuit of mechanisms to expedite the reality of equality for all people can result in the kind of controversy and polarization that currently surrounds affirmative action programs. Testifying before the Congressional Special Sub-committee on Education in September 1974, Bayard Rustin and Norman Hill of the A. Philip Randolph Institute expressed their concerns over the complexity of this issue. While both men approve of the affirmative action principle and its implementation, they argue with other black leaders about making it the prime mover of black progress:

> *We do not believe, however, that affirmative action can or should occupy the pivotal role in a strategy for racial progress. Affirmative action, we are convinced, can only succeed when combined with programs which have as their objective a much more fundamental economic transformation than affirmative action could bring about. We are, furthermore, unalterably opposed to the imposition of quotas or any other form of ratio hiring.*

Faced with shrinking budgets, schools are among the first institutions to be entangled in the struggle between the advocates of the seniority system and affirmative action proponents. Will blacks and other minorities be penalized by having been the last to enter and the first to be discharged in a faltering economy? Explosive as this issue is, current public discussion of the problem recognizes ethnic and minority group interests. We face a dilemma in balancing the right of a union contract to guarantee seniority against the implementation of Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act which bars discrimination.

As of this writing, the courts have given contradictory messages regarding the handling of this issue. A Louisiana judge ordered Continental Can to reinstate enough blacks to keep the percentage of the black hourly work force at 1971 levels. In Wisconsin, another judge ruled that "an employment seniority system embodying the 'last hired, first fired' principle does not itself perpetuate past discrimination." A New York court ordered the New York City school system to guarantee that in any dismissals there would not be any larger percentage discharge of minority employees.

New Ground Rules For Ethnic Bargaining

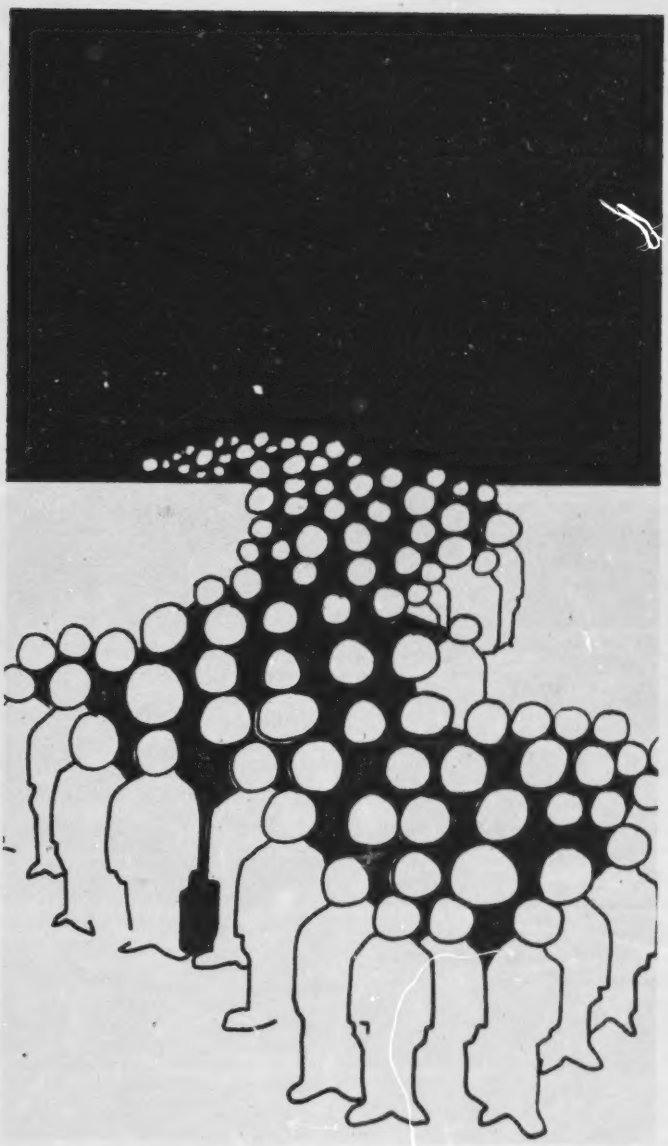
How can we deal effectively with ethnic succession and ethnic conflict in the schools and in other areas of American life? How do we move new or newly emerging groups in-and-up without turning our institutions into ethnic battlegrounds that destroy opportunities for others? It has become increasingly clear that ethnic groups, like labor unions, are bargaining forces in our society. Ethnic group competition, therefore, has a definite place in the American tradition.

However, along with our growing awareness and willingness to deal with ethnic succession more openly and realistically, there is a need for a new set of "ground rules" for properly conducting the struggle and working out accommodations that are equitable to all groups. Our broad experience with ethnic conflict suggests this preliminary set of ground rules:

1. Participants in the public debate over conflicting and legitimate group interests should not allow discussion to deteriorate into charges or resort to methods that incite racial and religious bigotry. The temptation of moral righteousness must be resisted.

2. When group conflict occurs, those who emerge more successful must not allow opponents to be badly defeated or wiped-out. The dynamic of a pluralistic society requires that *all* groups be included and opponents should not be denied a share of power.

3. In this period of necessary social change, schools and other institutions should develop affirmative action programs to broaden opportunities for all minorities. These pro-



grams must include the commonly categorized disadvantaged groups such as blacks and Latins as well as women. The needs of white ethnic groups must also be considered.

4. In defining the scope of these programs, care must be taken to insure that they do not become quota systems. That is, they should not be unjust to individuals of specific groups.

5. These programs should remain within a "competitive, performance-related" framework. It is important, both in terms of the quality of American life and the sense of fair play, that jobs be filled on the basis of qualifications that can be measured by reasonable, objective standards. It is necessary to review these standards to determine their current relevancy and whether other criteria should be given varying degrees of weight as well. Efforts should be made to develop a consensus around these standards.

6. There are times when race and ethnicity may be pertinent criteria, along with other factors, in filling certain positions. When a school becomes predominantly black, it is desirable that blacks be present in leadership roles as models for students. However, racial background should not be an automatic or even a primary factor in filling such positions. Sympathetic and properly trained white personnel can also be qualified to guide these students. Similarly, black teachers and administrators do provide white students with direct experience in a multi-group society. When competent individuals are displaced by the pressures of ethnic succession, they should be given alternative roles commensurate with their experience and status. Canada has tackled a similar problem by establishing a "retraining" fund. A percentage of Canadian teachers' salaries is matched by a university and these funds are used to meet the problems of "social displacement" that parallel the technological displacement resulting from automation.

7. Socially and politically, it is important to recognize that it is barren social policy to pit racial and white ethnic groups and the poor and near-poor in competition for scarce places,

even though this has always occurred in our society. We need new, creative methods to "enlarge the pie." The New York City University's "Open Admissions" program is one innovative approach to providing minorities and lower middle class white ethnics greater access to higher education.

8. There is a need to channel our vast productive capacities into programs that provide ecologically sound growth with an emphasis on an increase in human services: to provide more and better jobs, schools, housing, recreation, health care and other vital services to all Americans. Government tolerance of high unemployment exacerbates group tensions.

9. There is a growing and obvious need for more careful analysis of career requirements so that better planning can be developed to meet these needs in the years ahead.

10. Recent discussion of the revolt of "Middle America" emphasizes the need for leaders to understand the legitimate grievances and fears of lower middle class Americans as part of the process of improving group relations. There is an equal need to recognize the legitimacy of the differing lifestyles and values of these groups as well. A "pluralistic ethic" that allows for a wide variety of ways by which Americans can make their lives more manageable and meaningful is essential.

Schools are confronting the same dilemmas that all American institutions face today. The narrow perspective of a black-white conflict limits our understanding of the complicated struggle for a place in the sun that is common to many groups. While we redouble our efforts to deal with the remnants of anti-black racism, we must realize that we sometimes add to black-white conflict by defining problems only in racial terms.

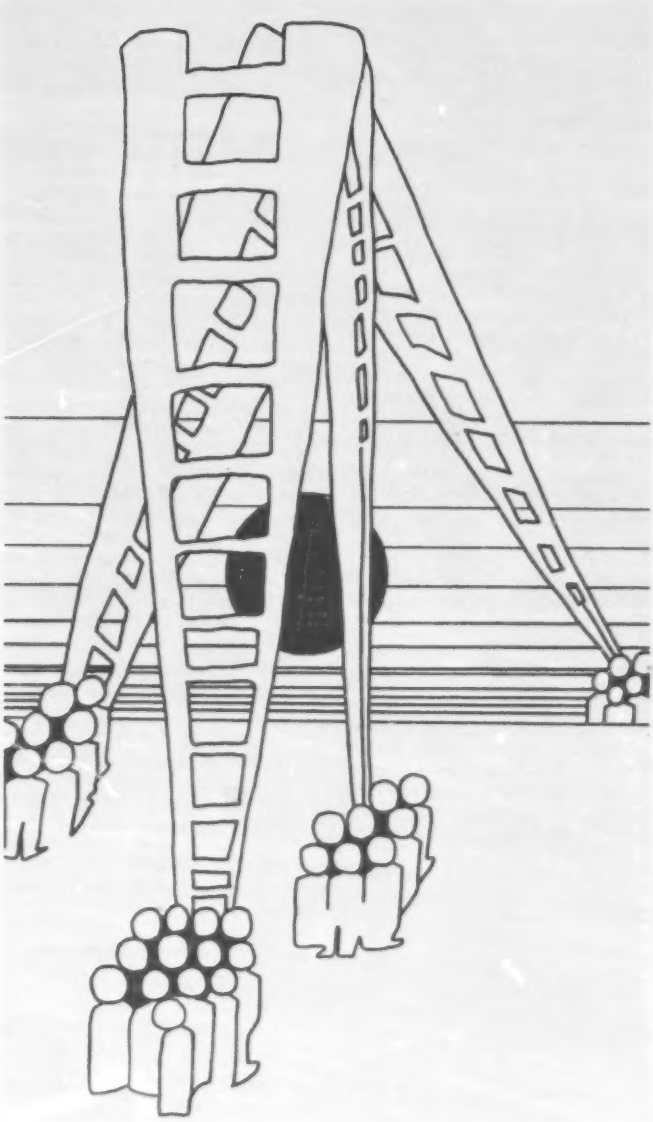
While group competition is as American as cherry pie, we must develop greater understanding of the informal as well as formal rules of the game. Ethnic bargaining has a legitimate place in our society. It goes on all the time. We may as well take it out of the closet and deal with it realistically.

Footnotes

1. Elazar, Daniel J. *Cities of the Prairie.* New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1970.
2. Levi, Albert William. *Philosophy and the Modern World.* Bloomington, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1953.
3. Parsons, Talcott and Kenneth B. Clark, eds. *Negro American.* Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1966.
4. Moynihan, Daniel P. "Eliteland," *Psychology Today*, September, 1970. Also see Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot* (second ed., Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970); Glazer, Nathan and Daniel P. Moynihan, "Why Ethnicity," *Commentary*, December, 1974; Novak, Michael, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1972); Levine, Irving M. and Judith Herman, "Group Conflict, Group Interest and Group Identity: Some Jewish Reflections on the 'New Pluralism,' " *Pieces of a Dream: The Ethnic Worker's Crisis With America* (New York: Center for Migration Studies, 1972).
5. Greeley, Andrew M. *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* New York: E.P. Dutton and Co., 1971.
6. Anderson, Charles H. *White Protestant Americans.* Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1970.
7. Ward, Louis B. "The Ethnics of Executive Selection," *Harvard Business Review*, March-April, 1965. Also see Kahn, Robert L., *et al. Discrimination Without Prejudice.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: Institute for Social Research, University of Michigan, 1964.
8. Anderson, *op. cit.*
9. Littel, Franklin, H. *From State Church to Pluralism.* Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1962.
10. Clark, Dennis. "Ethnic Enterprise and Urban Development." Unpublished manuscript.
11. Haller, Mark. "Organized Crime in Urban Society: Chicago in the Twentieth Century," *Journal of Social History*, Winter, 1971-72, Vol. 5, No. 2.
12. Shibutani, Tamotsu and Kian M. Kwan. *Ethnic Stratification: A Comparative Approach.* New York: The Macmillan Co., 1965.
13. Elazar, *op. cit.*

14. Clark, Dennis. *The Irish in Philadelphia*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1973.
15. Blau, Peter M. and Otis Dudley Duncan. *The American Occupation Structure*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1967.
16. Handlin, Oscar. *The Newcomers*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1959.
17. "Northeast High Took the Glory Away," *The Sunday Bulletin*, Philadelphia, January 27, 1974.
18. Rosenblum, Gerald. *Immigrant Workers*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1973.
19. Glanz, Rudolf. *Studies in Judaica Americana*. New York: KTAV Publishing House, Inc., 1970.
20. Shibutani and Kwan, *op. cit.* Also see Ianni, Francis A.J., "The Mafia and the Web of Kinship," *The Public Interest*, Winter, 1971. Haller, however, believes that ethnic specialization is more important than ethnic succession in understanding the social basis of illegitimate enterprise.
21. Lubell, Samuel. *The Future of American Politics*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1956.
22. Podhoretz, Norman. *Making It*. New York: Random House, 1968.
23. Roberts, Steven V. "He's One of Us," *New York Times Magazine*, February 24, 1974. Also see Holden, Matthew Jr., "Ethnic Accommodation in a Historical Case," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Vol. 8, January 1966; Blatzell, E. Digby, *The Protestant Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1964.)
24. Enloe, Cynthia. *Ethnic Conflict and Political Development*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1973.
25. Light, Ivan. *Ethnic Enterprise in America*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1972.
26. Stodolsky, Susan S. and Gerald Lesser. "Learning Patterns in the Disadvantaged," *Harvard Educational Review*. Vol. XXXVII, No. 4, Fall, 1967. They point out that relative to the general population Jews score higher in verbal ability than they do in space conceptualization. For Chinese children, this is exactly reversed.
27. Teper, Shirley. "The Basis for a New Philosophy for Education of Mexican-Americans." In an unpublished Ford Foundation report on Basic Research Needs in Race and Ethnicity, New York, January 25, 1974.
28. Giordano, Joseph. *Ethnicity and Mental Health*. New York: National Project on Ethnic America, American Jewish Committee, 1973.
29. Coser, Louis. *The Functions of Social Conflict*. Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1956.
30. Holden, Matthew, Jr. *Op. cit.*

31. Carmichael, Stokely S. and Charles V. Hamilton. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation In America*. New York: Random House 1968.
32. Poinsett, Alex. "Class Patterns in Black Politics," *Ebony*, August 1973.
33. Wattenberg, Ben J. *The Real America*. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1975. See Chapter 9, "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric (Race)."
34. Bell, Daniel. "Meritocracy and Equality," *The Public Interest*, Fall, 1972. The argument is more fully spelled out in Bell's book, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).
35. *New York Times*, February 4, 1974.
36. *New York Times*, November 25, 1973.
37. Greeley, Andrew M. "American Catholics—Making It or Losing It?", *The Public Interest*, Summer, 1972.



Other Publications Available From the INSTITUTE ON PLURALISM AND GROUP IDENTITY

THE SCHOOLS AND GROUP IDENTITY: EDUCATING FOR A NEW PLURALISM
edited by Judith Herman
Examines schools' role in fostering healthy group identity; analyzes diverse approaches to group identity and ethnic studies curricula $1.75

ETHNICITY AND AMERICAN EDUCATION
by Irving M. Levine
Compendium of writings on the ethnic factor in public education $1.25

THE IMAGE OF PLURALISM IN AMERICAN LITERATURE
by Babette F. Inglehart and Anthony R. Mangione
Annotated bibliography on the American experience of European ethnic groups. Contains fiction, history, biography, drama and poetry. A valuable tool for teachers, students, librarians, researchers and others $1.50

ETHNICITY AND AMERICAN GROUP LIFE: A BIBLIOGRAPHY
compiled by Perry L. Weed
Books, articles and studies on: theories of pluralism, group identity, neighborhoods, intergroup relations, economics and more 50c

ABSENT FROM THE MAJORITY: WORKING CLASS WOMEN IN AMERICA
by Nancy Seifer
An insightful analysis of the changing roles and needs of this often-ignored group with recommendations for institutional response $1.25

DIALOGUE ON DIVERSITY: A NEW AGENDA FOR AMERICAN WOMEN
At an unprecedented meeting, women from diverse backgrounds explore their individual perspectives on issues raised by the Women's Movement and seek the understanding necessary to build coalitions. The new U.S. National Women's Agenda is included as a landmark coalition.....$1.75

ETHNICITY AND MENTAL HEALTH: RESEARCH AND RECOMMENDATIONS
by Joseph Giordano
Suggestions for new policies and treatment methods for white ethnics .$1.00

MENTAL HEALTH AND MIDDLE AMERICA: A GROUP IDENTITY APPROACH
by Joseph Giordano and Marion Levine
To effectively service Middle American families, mental health professionals must discover and utilize the "group identity" factor and rely on the informal helping systems of family, neighborhood and ethnic group.....$1.00

over

WHY CAN'T THEY BE LIKE US?
by Andrew M. Greeley
Facts and fallacies about ethnic differences and group conflicts in America: suggestions for furthering intergroup cooperation $1.00

PLURALISM BEYOND THE FRONTIER
Important social theory and grassroots response from the San Francisco Conference on Ethnicity 50c

SOCIAL POLICY AND MULTI-ETHNICITY IN THE 1970's
by Irving M. Levine
A coalitionist's analysis of major domestic public policy problems $1.00

GROUP CONFLICT, GROUP INTEREST AND GROUP IDENTITY
by Irving M. Levine and Judith Herman
A "new pluralism" depends on an adequate response to group differences. Describes Jewish experience with "particularism" and "universalism" ... 25c

WHITE ETHNIC NEIGHBORHOODS: RIPE FOR THE BULLDOZER
by Richard J. Krickus
Irresponsible urban planning can destroy ethnic neighborhoods 35c

---

PLEASE SEND ME THE FOLLOWING PUBLICATIONS:

Quantity	Title	Cost

TOTAL _____

☐ **PLEASE ADD MY NAME TO YOUR MAILING LIST**

☐ **PLEASE SEND ME THE INSTITUTE'S CATALOGUE OF PUBLICATIONS**

Name _____ **Title** _____

Organization _____

Address _____

City _____ **State** _____ **Zip**

Return to: The American Jewish Committee
165 East 56th Street
New York, N.Y. 10022

Please prepay orders less than $25.00